

BRITISH INFO. SERVICE 1941

*grave behavior*

**BISHOP VON GALEN DESCRIBES  
THE NAZI CRIMES AGAINST THE  
LAW OF GOD**

In the third of his series of sermons, preached on August 3 in the church of St. Lambert, Munster, Bishop von Galen ~~said~~ *many binding members of the*

*Catholic party have been put in jail but they*  
My Brethren, in the Pastoral Letter of the German Bishops on June 26 which was read in all the churches of Germany on July 6, it was stated:

"There are, no doubt, according to Christian doctrine, commandments which are not binding when their observation demands too serious sacrifices, but there are sacred duties from which no one can release us and which we must fulfil even at the cost of our lives. Never, and under no pretext may a man, except in the case of war and legitimate defence kill an innocent person."

I have already had occasion on July 6 to add the following commentary to the words of the Pastoral Letter:

"For several months we have known that patients who have been ill for a long time and who appear to be incurable are, on orders from Berlin, forcibly removed from homes and clinics for mental diseases. Their families, after an interval are then regularly told that the patient has died, and that the body has been cremated and that the ashes can be claimed.

"Generally one suspects, and this suspicion has become almost a certainty, that these numerous cases of unexpected death are not natural, but often deliberately caused and are the result of the doctrine that it is justified to suppress 'life which is unworthy of being lived,' accordingly, it is justifiable to kill innocent men when it is thought that their lives are no longer useful for our people and for our country.

"The horrible doctrine, which claims to justify the murder of innocent men, and which gives legal sanction to the forcible killing of invalids who are unable to work, of the maimed,

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the incurable and the enfeebled."

FIRST BATCH FROM MARIENTHAL

According to what I have learnt on good authority, the practice in homes and clinics in Westphalia is to draw up lists of such patients who are to be transferred elsewhere as "unproductive citizens", and after some time put to death. During this very week, the first batch of these patients has been sent from the clinic of Marienthal, near Munster.

German men and women ... Article 2 of the Code of Penal Law is still valid, and according to this code anyone who deliberately kills a man by premeditated act will be executed as a murderer.

It is in order to protect the killers of these unhappy patients against this legal penalty that the patients who are to be put to death are removed from their place of residence to some distant institution. Some disease or other is then given as the cause of death, but as the bodies are immediately cremated neither their families nor the regular police can afterwards find out whether the disease is genuine nor what was really the cause of death.

I am assured that at the Ministry of the Interior, and at the office of Dr. Conti, the head of Government doctors, it is openly known that a great number of mental cases have already been deliberately put to death, and many more will follow in the future.

In Article 159 of the Penal Code of Germany it is laid down that anyone who knows from a reliable source of any plot against the life of a man and who does not inform the authorities or the intended victim of it in time, will be punished.

BISERGP'S PROTEST

When I heard of the proposal to remove patients

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from Marienthal in order to kill them I informed the Tribunal of Munster and also the head of the Munster Police in a registered letter as follows:

"On account of information which has reached me during this week, i.e., the week of July 31, a great number of patients from the provincial clinic of Marienthal are to be removed as citizens alleged to be unproductive, to the clinic of Elschburg, in order to be put to death as, according to general opinion, has already been done in the case of other patients who have been similarly removed.

"As such an act is not only contrary to the moral law, both divine and natural, but should also be punishable by death according to Article 211 of the Penal Code, it is my duty in accordance with Article 139 of the same code to bring it to the notice of the authorities.

"I demand immediate protection for my fellow countrymen who are thus threatened against those who intend to remove them and put them to death, and I demand to be told of your decision."

No news has come to me of any steps taken by the tribunal or by the Police.

On July 28, I had already sent a strong written protest to the provincial administration of Westphalia who are responsible for the institutions to which these patients have been entrusted in order to be cared for and cured. It was all to no purpose. The first contingent of innocent people have left Marienthal under sentence of death and from the clinic of Waestein I am told that 800 patients have been saved.

We must, therefore, expect the news that these poor, defenseless patients will sooner or later be killed. Why? Not because they have committed any crime deserving of death, not because they have attacked one of their wardens or nurses in such a way that the latter in legitimate self defense might be forced to save their own lives by using violence against their assailants.

WHY ...

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## WHY THEY DIE

No, it is not for reasons of this kind that these unhappy patients are killed.

It is simply because in the opinion of some doctor, in the view of some committee, they are "unworthy to live": because in their eyes they are to be classified among unproductive citizens. It is thought that they can no longer produce riches, and that they are like old machines which can no longer work, like an old horse which has become incurably lame or like a cow which can no longer give any milk.

Have you or have I only the right to live so long as we are productive: so long as others, therefore, regard us as productive?

If one admits the principle that unproductive men may be killed, then woe to all of us when we become old and weakened by age. If one may kill such men, woe to all invalids who, in order to produce wealth, have used, sacrificed and worn out their strength and their arms. If one may by violence kill our unproductive neighbours, then woe to our gallant soldiers who come back to their country, wounded and maimed and sick.

## NONE SURE OF LIFE

None of us then will be sure of our life. Any committee can put a man on the list of unproductives, when it judges that he has become unworthy of life. No police can protect him, no court can avenge his murder and inflict on the murderer the punishment he deserves.

Who can have any confidence in a doctor when he has only to certify his patients as unproductive and he can get authority to kill them?

If this horrible doctrine is tolerated, admitted and practised, it is impossible to imagine to what depths of depravation it will lead; what suspicion and distrust it will cause even in close family circles.

Woe to men and woe to the German people if we transgress the sacred commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," which was given to us by God on Mount Sinai in thunder and lightning, and which God, our Creator, engraved on the

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human conscience from the beginning of time. Woe to the German people if we tolerate this crime and allow it to be committed with impunity.

#### FATE OF A SOLDIER'S FATHER

I want to give you an example of what is actually happening now. At Marienthal there was a man of about 55 years old, a peasant from a rural commune near Munster - I could give you his name - who for some years had been suffering from some mental disease and had been in the provincial clinic of Marienthal. He was not completely ~~mad~~, he could receive visitors and liked his family to come and see him.

About a fortnight ago he had a visit from his wife and his son, a soldier at the front, who was home on leave. The son was very devoted to his father and was very upset when he left him for who could know if he would see him again, for he might fall on the field of battle fighting for his countrymen.

This son, the soldier, will never see his father again in this world, because he has been put on the list of the unproductives.

One of the members of his family who went to see the father at Marienthal was refused admission and was told that by order of the Council of Ministers of National Defence the patient had been removed elsewhere, but no one knew where. An official notice will be sent to the family in a few days' time. What will this notice contain? Will it be like other similar notices that the man has died, that the body has been cremated and that the ashes will be handed over on the receipt of money to cover expenses?

And so the son who is now at the front, risking

his ...

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his life for his German countrymen, will never see his father again, because his German countrymen have put him to death. I can give you the name of the patient, his wife, and his soldier son, as well as their addresses.

"WHERE IS OBEDIENCE TO THE COMMANDMENTS?"

"Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thy children as the bird doth her brood, and thou wouldest not!"

Is history repeating itself again here in Germany, in our land of Westphalia, in our city of Munster? Where in Germany and where, here, is obedience to the commandments of God?"

The eighth commandment lays down "THOU SHALT NOT BEAR FALSE WITNESS AGAINST THY NEIGHBOUR." How often do we see this commandment violated publicly and with impunity?

The seventh commandment says:

"THOU SHALT NOT STEAL," but can we say that property and possessions are, being respected when our brothers and our sisters, monks and nuns, are forcibly and brutally robbed of their convents, and who protects property now if it is illegally seized and not restored?

The sixth commandment: "THOU SHALT NOT COMMIT ADULTERY": think of the instructions and promises given on the question of free love and maternity outside marriage in the notorious open letter published in the journals of Rudolf Hess, who has since disappeared.

And in matters of this kind what indecency and vulgarity do we not see everywhere even at Munster? To what lengths has not impropriety of dress gone amongst our young people? That is how modesty, the guardian of purity, is being destroyed, and the way prepared for uncleanness in the future.

And see, too, how the fifth commandment is ignored. "THOU SHALT NOT KILL." We see it violated under the very eyes of the authorities whose duty it is

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to enforce respect for law and life, when they allow the deliberate killing of innocent human beings as well as the sick, solely because they are unproductive, because they can no longer contribute to the wealth of the world.

#### ATTACK ON THE FAMILY

And how is it one observes the fourth commandment, which orders respect and obedience to parents and superiors.

The authority of parents has already greatly diminished, and is more and more shaken by the demands made upon the young against the wishes of their parents.

How do you think one can preserve a genuine respect and conscientious obedience towards State authority if one continues to violate the commandments of the supreme authority, the commandments of God; if one is fighting against and trying to destroy faith in the only true God, the supreme Being, the Lord of Heaven and earth?

The observance of the first three commandments has long since lapsed in German public life, and here also in Munster.

Many desecrate and secularise Sunday and Feast days and try to remove them from the service of God. The name of God is constantly ridiculed, dishonoured and blasphemed, and as for the First commandment, "THOU SHALT NOT HAVE STRANGE GODS BEFORE ME", in the place of the one, true, eternal God, men have created, according to their own good pleasure, false gods to adore - Nature, the State, the people or the race.

For many their God is their belly, according to the words of St. Paul, their own comfort, to which everything is sacrificed, even honour and conscience for the pleasure of their senses, the thirst for wealth and ambition.

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Is it surprising then that they try also to claim divine prerogatives, and to make themselves the masters of the life and death of their neighbours?

APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE

"Dearly Beloved Brethren, I hope that it is not too late, but it is certainly time to realize now on this very day what alone can bring us peace, what alone can save us and preserve us from divine punishment, and to admit openly and unreservedly the divine revealed truths, and to show by our attitude that we wish to direct our lives by the commandments of God and that we accept in all gravity the motto: Rather die than sin.

And that we wish by sincere prayer and penance to draw down divine grace and forgiveness on us, on our city, our land, and our dear German people.

Copied January 27, 1942.  
AET

OFFICE OF  
DIRECTOR GENERAL

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enclosed

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Telephone: CIRCLE 6-5100  
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filed by

BRITISH INFORMATION SERVICES

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA

NEW YORK CITY

December 20th 1941.

DEC 26 1941

My dear Bill:

I am so sorry that the memo which I left with you yesterday on the "Psychological Forces of the German Army in Peace Time and during the World War" was in such an untidy state, and I am enclosing herewith a fair copy. I feel quite certain that this will be of great use to both of us if it is possible to get it photostated. It is a pity that it is so rare.

It was very nice to see you yesterday, and I send you now every possible good wish for Christmas and the New Year, and may it bring victory for all of us.

Ever yours,

J.W.B.

John W. Wheeler-Bennett.

Col. William Donovan,  
Co-ordinator of Information,  
Federal Trade Commission Building,  
Washington, D.C.

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3 photocopies

*Psychology 2344  
X Wheeler-Bennett*

**PSYCHOLOGICAL**

**THE MENTAL POWERS OF THE GERMAN ARMY IN  
PEACE TIME AND DURING THE WORLD WAR.**

by

Friedrich Altrichter, Major in the Reichswehr, published in 1933 by Mittler & Sohn (222 pages)

**PART I.**

**PSYCHOLOGICAL FORCES OF THE GERMAN ARMY IN  
PEACE TIME:**

- (A) The mass psychological character of the Army.
  - (1) Origin and functions of the mass mind of the Army.
  - (2) Structure of the mass mind of the Army.
  - (3) The mass mind and the individual of the Army.
  - (4) The tradition of the Army.
  - (5) The consciousness of the power of the Army.
  - (6) The feeling of soldierly superiority in the Army.
  - (7) The spirit of the Army and l'esprit de corps.
- (B) The psychology of discipline.
  - (1) The essence of discipline and the human soul.
  - (2) Change of opinion on discipline and on the ways of its preservation.
  - (3) The condition of discipline in the peoples' Army. (Weltgeist)
  - (4) Leader and discipline.
  - (5) Discipline in the German Army.
- (C) CONCLUSIONS. The value of an Army in war time.
- (D) Psychology of the commission officers.
  - (1) ~~Power, Honor, and their military~~
  - (2) ~~Intellectual development~~
  - (3) The officers' corps as reflected in contemporary criticism.

page 2.

PART II

## (A) The war year 1914.

- (1) The importance of mobilization for the inner value of the army.
- (2) The psychological importance of the course of the war in 1914 for the ARMY.
- (3) Origin and nature of trench warfare.
- (4)
  - (a) Its beginning.
  - (b) The psychological meaning of trench warfare for the Army.

## (B) The war year 1915.

## (C) The war year 1916.

## (D) The war year 1917.

- (1) The psychology of the course of the war in 1917 for the ARMY.

- (2) The external causes of the disintegration of the Army.

- (a) Disintegration as a psychological factor.

- (b) The influence of disintegration brought indirectly to bear on the Army by the home front.

- (c) Direct strategy of disintegration by the home front.

- (d) The psychology of enemy propaganda.

- (3) The Army towards the end of the year 1917.

## (E) The war year 1918.

- (1) The moral reformation of the Army at the beginning of 1918.

- (2) The spiritual basis of the German March offensive.

- (3) The psychological sources for the failure of the March offensive.

- (4) The psychological influence of the course of the war on the Army.

- (5) The psychological influence of the course of the war on the Army.

Page 3.

## PART II (Cont'd)

on the army from outside.

- (a) causes of ~~dislike~~<sup>dislike</sup> coming from the home front indirectly.
- (b) The revolutionary aims of the home front, and the army.
- (c) The psychological development of enemy propaganda.
- (6) The Army during July and August of 1918.
- (7) The psychological importance of the defeats of July 8 and August 18.
- (8) The influence of the reserve situation <sup>(influence)</sup> on the fighting strength of the Army.
- (9) The psychological influence of the conduct of the war during the ~~last~~ months of the Army.
- (10) The importance of events in foreign policy during the last months of the war for the spiritual development of the Army.
- (11) The Army during the last months of the war.
- (12) The influence of the abdication of the Kaiser on the Army.
- (13) The influence of the countries abroad and of the revolution on the spiritual development of the Army.
- (14) The retreat and the ~~disbanding~~<sup>disbanding</sup> of the western armies at home.

PART III

Psychological problems inside the Army.

- (A) The psychological importance of the change in ~~the~~ structure and personnel of the Army.
- (B) Feldherr and ~~the~~ Army as a psychological problem.
- (C) The importance of the ~~Soldatenkamerad~~<sup>Soldatenkamerad</sup> for the Army.
- (D) The psychology of discipline in war time.
  - (1) The first phase in the development of discipline during war time.

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PART III (Cont'd)

(D) Continued.

(2) The second phase in the development of discipline during war time.

(3) The third phase in the development of discipline during war time.

(E) ~~All~~ Some facts that ~~were~~ disadvantageous to discipline during the World War.

(1) Training has become more difficult.

(2) ~~Home~~ Service ~~inside the country~~.

(3) Principles of promotion.

(4) Orders and honours during the World War.

(5) The development of criminal jurisdiction during the World War.

(F) "National instruction"

(G) The psychology of orders.

(H) The psychology of the corps of commissioned officers during the World War.

- Accomplishments*
- (1) Its nature and its ~~weak~~.
  - (2) Officers and ~~the disintegration~~ of the troops.
  - (3) Officers and revolution.

December 18, 1941.

REJ:

EXTRACTS FROM "PSYCHOLOGICAL POWERS OF THE  
GERMAN ARMY IN PEACE TIME AND DURING THE  
WORLD WAR". Page 94 -THE WAR YEAR 1916

Before the year 1916 was over, the army had to undergo another severe psychological test which, however, was not derived from military events, but which had its causes in the political action of the peace offer which Germany made to the Entente in the middle of December quite surprisingly.

This peace offer came at a time when the longing for peace among the troops was particularly strong as a consequence of the great western battles. It was, therefore, not surprising that the sudden prospect of peace brought out all the secret desires for an end to the war at once in a very strong degree. The thoughts of even the most valiant soldiers were filled in those days by happy pictures of home. The consequence of this feeling was the raising of a strong aversion to continuing the fight.

Page 167:

In the general excitement of earlier predictions and calculations by the authorities all the possibilities of the war, which had not been fulfilled, were now taken as proof of intentional deception.

The U-boat war was particularly used in this way because its ~~successes~~ results were in strict contradiction to official statistics according to which England would have been forced to her knees after six months.

A similar feeling existed about America's entry into the war. People had heard again and again from authoritative sources that America did not need to be considered as a serious danger because the lack of transport ships ~~would~~ exclude the use of a great number of American troops. The ~~fact~~ of daily increasing masses of Americans and their tremendous war material accused the government of lying.

18/12/42.



*Fwd to [unclear]*  
BRITISH INFORMATION SERVICE

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA

NEW YORK CITY

DIRECTOR GENERAL'S Office.

December 31st 1941.

My dear Bill:

I am enclosing a copy of a sermon which was given last July by the Bishop of Muenster, the Graf Galen, in which, I think you will agree, is a very courageous statement, and a useful source for propaganda.

With warmest good wishes  
for the New Year.

Ever yours,

J.W.B.

John W. Wheeler-Bennett.

Col. William T. Donovan,  
Co-ordinator of Information,  
Federal Trade Commission Bldg.,  
Washington, D.C.

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B.W.H. + REXTRACT FROM A SERMON OF THE BISHOP OF MUENSTER, Bishop of the  
COUNTY OF LIPPS

today, Sunday (July 20th) there will be a collection for the inhabitants of the Town of Muenster in all the communities of the Diocese which have not yet suffered war damages. I hope that, through the help of the competent authorities of the State and the Municipality and through the brotherly help of the Catholics of the Episcopate whose gifts are administered and distributed by the "Caritas" organization, much of the suffering will be mitigated. Thank God that for a few days there have been no new attacks from our external enemy on this town. But, unfortunately, I must announce that the attacks of our internal opponent, the beginning of which I mentioned last Sunday in Saint Lamberti Church have gone on without heeding our protests, without heed-ing the sorrows of the people affected and of their relatives. Last Sunday, I publicly accused the Gestapo of wrongs which cry to Heaven: they had broken up the convent of the Sisters of the Immaculate in Wilkinghege and the monastery of the Jesuits in Muenster. They had confiscated their houses and assets and they have thrown the inhabitants into the street and driven them out of their native provinces. The Lourdes Convent in Frauenstrasse in Muenster had also been confiscated for the Gauleitung (District Headquarters of the N.S.A.P.D.). I did not know then that on the same day, Sunday, July 13th, the Gestapo had occupied Kamillus College in St. Karita - Sudmehle and our Benedictine Abbey St. Joseph in Oerleve near Oesfeld. They confiscated the property and expelled the padres and brethren. They had to leave Westphalia the same day.

On July 16th, the Benedictine Sisters of the Perpetual Adoration in Remscheid near Warendorf were expelled

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and driven across the provincial border. On July 13th, the Sisters of the Cross in Aspel near Rees had to leave their property and the county of Rees. Had not Christian charity taken pity on the homeless people, even the helpless women would have been exposed to hunger and the inclemencies of the weather. In addition to this I received the sad news that yesterday, July 19th, at the conclusion of the second week of terror for our Muensterland, the Gestapo had occupied and confiscated the German provincial headquarters of the missionaries of the Sacred Heart, the large monastery Hiltrup, well known to you. The padres and brethren had to leave their home and property by 8 o'clock last night. They also were expelled from Westphalia and the Rhine provinces. Of this group of Hiltrup missionaries, 161 are serving as German soldiers in the different theatres of war - some of them in the shock troops. 53 padres are serving as stretcher bearers and some of them have been given the Iron Cross, Sturmbaumzeichen (badge to the shock troop) and other decorations.

A similar situation is found among the Kamillian padres in Sudmuhle, the Jesuits in Sentenring and the Benedictines of St. Joseph in Gerleve. While these loyal men fight for their fatherland in national comradeship with their fellow countrymen and risk their lives, their houses are taken from them without any legal justification. When they return, as we hope, victoriously they will find their ecclesiastical family expelled and their home occupied by enemies. What does that mean?

**HOW IS THIS GOING TO END?**

It is not a question of finding a temporary shelter for the homeless inhabitants of Muenster: the members of the orders were ready to restrict their own living quarters for such purposes in order to be able to take in and to provide for the people who had no home. No, that is

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really not the question. In the Immaculate Convent in Wilkinghege a Gaufilmstelle (District Film Bureau) has been established. The Benedictine Abbey of St. Joseph will be fitted as a maternity home for unmarried mothers. I have not yet heard what is going to be in Sentmaring, in Sudwaeler or in the convent in Winnesberg. I am altogether without official communication. No newspaper has so far reported those easy "victories" which have been obtained by the officials of the Gestapo over helpless German women, and of the "conquests" which the Gauleitung (District Headquarters of the H.S.A.F.D.) has made in our own home country in seizing the property of Germans.

On Monday, July 14th, I went personally to see the Regierungspräsident and asked him for his protection of liberty and property of innocent German people. He explained to me that the Gestapo is an independent agency, not connected with the county government, which cannot interfere with the actions of the Gestapo. He promised me, however, to hand on my complaints and requests to the Regierungspräsident and Gauleiter, Dr. Meier. It was no use! The same day I sent to the Reichskanzler and the Leader the following telegram: "On July 6th the enemy tried to destroy the town of Münster by terrific night air attacks; since then the Gestapo has started to confiscate monasteries, convents and religious institutions in favour of the Gauleitung. The inhabitants - innocent men and women, honorable members of German families whose relatives are soldiers fighting for Germany - are robbed of their home and their property, thrown into the street and banished from their native provinces." I asked the Führer and Reichskanzler in the interest of justice and unity of the

home ...

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home front for protection of liberty and property of Germans against the arbitrary interference of the Gestapo and the plunder of the Gaulsitzung. I have sent similar requests to the Reichstatthalter for Prussia, Reichmarshal Goering, Reichinnenminister (Home Secretary) Reichskirchenminister (Minister of Church Affairs) and, finally, to the High Command of the Wehrmacht (Army). I had hoped that, if not the feeling for justice, at least the knowledge of the importance of the unity of the home front would move those authorities to stop the Gestapo in its action against our brethren and sisters and that they would not refuse chivalrous protection to innocent German women.

## IT WAS IN VAIN.

The action was continued, and what I predicted a long time ago and what I mentioned last Sunday has now happened. We are standing before the ruins of the people's unity, which has been recklessly smashed in these days. I have most urgently drawn the attention of the Regierungspräsident (head of Provincial Administration), of the Minister, and of the High Command of the Wehrmacht to the acts of violence against innocent German men, to the cruelty against helpless German women which defiles all chivalry and which can only arise from a deep hatred of the Christian religion and the Catholic Church. These acts of violence have the effect of sabotage of the people's solidarity. There is no community of feeling and thinking possible between myself and these men (and all those who have any responsibility for it) who, without legal justification, without judicial inquiry, without even legal excuse, and without judgment, hand down the sentence of our own like helpless quarrymen (Kath. 14, 17). I could not hate them; I wish, from the bottom of my heart, that they would become wise and send their wives, children, I have sent a prayer of intercession to

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God for the soul of Ministerialdirektor Roth, who died suddenly on July 5th. He was a Catholic priest of the Archdiocese of Munich who had for years, without permission and against the will of his bishop, been an official of the Reichsmathisterium for church affairs. He often drew up and signed documents for Reichsminister Kerrl, which infringed the rights and abused the dignity of the Church. Now he has accidentally lost his life while boating on the Inn River. He was drowned in the current. God be merciful to his poor soul! In the same way we want to say the prayers that the Saviour said for those who nailed Him to the Cross, for all who persecuted and slandered us; but as long as they do not change, as long as they continue to wrong the innocent, to drive them out of the country, or put them in prison, for so long I shall refuse to be in any community with them. No, the community spirit and the common aim of our people has been destroyed beyond repair, against our will and in spite of our warnings. I cannot imagine that our townsmen with their old tradition, our peasants, artisans and workers and our women, I cannot imagine that your fathers, brothers and sons, who are now risking their lives on the front for Germany, will have any spiritual community with the persecutors of the members of our orders. We shall be obedient as far as they are entitled to give us orders as representatives of the legitimate government, but there is no spiritual community possible, no feeling of an internal relationship imaginable with those profane ones of the church, with those intruders in the convents, with those tormentors who chase helpless men and children away from our best families, our sisters, out of their ecclesiastical homes, where they have justified and worked for the good of our people for centuries.

I would be ashamed before God and before you, before

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all your noble German ancestors, before my valiant late father who brought up my brother and me with unflinching seriousness to tender reverence of all mankind and to chivalrous protection of all in need, particularly all those who are brought up in the image of our own mother, even of our Lord's mother who is in Heaven, if I were to keep company with those who drive these innocent women from home and country and make them homeless and destitute. In addition to all that, I want to say what I already proved at great length at the Lamberti Church last Sunday and what I repeat today in great earnestness out of love for our fatherland; the criminal action of the Gestapo against innocent people without legal procedure, without any possibility of defense; the defenseless condemnation of people sentenced from the very beginning and bereft of all legal weapons, destroys the belief in justice and jurisdiction and shatters confidence in the Government.

Surely we Christians shall not bring about a revolution. We shall faithfully fulfill our duty in obedience to God and out of love for our German people and fatherland. Our soldiers shall fight and die for Germany but not for those people who through their cruel action against the members of our orders, against our brethren and children, wounded our hearts and shamed the German name before God and before present and future mankind. We shall continue to fight valiantly against the exterior enemy, and against the enemy at home who torments and persecutes us. We cannot fight with arms. There is only one weapon of defense left - to stand up firm and strong. Be strong, stand firm! We see clearly now what is behind the new doctrine which has been imposed upon us for years and for the benefit of which religion has been banished from the schools, our societies suppressed, and for the benefit of which the Catholic kindergartens are

being...

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being destroyed! The motive behind this is a deep hatred of Christianity which they want to exterminate. If I am rightly informed, such a plan has been pronounced by Schulungsleiter Schmid (Director of Education) about a fortnight ago in the Town Hall before an audience forced to attend, among them school boys and girls. The Kreisleiter (District Leader) applauded and promised to do his best for the realization of this plan.

Be strong, stand firm! At this time we are not hammers but anvils. Go to the blacksmith, ask him and let him tell you that that which is forged does not get its form alone from the hammer but also from the anvil. The anvil cannot and does not need to hit back. It is only necessary for it to be firm and strong. If it is sufficiently resistant, it usually outlasts the hammer. No matter how violently the hammer may be hitting, the anvil stands long after the hammer is thrown aside. That which is forged here are the unjustly imprisoned, the innocent, the exiled and the exiled. God will help them not to lose the exposure of Christian fortitude when the hammer of persecution strikes and wounds them unjustly. That which is forged today are the members of our orders, the priests, brothers and sisters. I have been staled and filled with enthusiasm by the courageous attitude of the valiant men, weak and helpless women who were cruelly and remorselessly driven out of their convent home, out of their chapels and out of the vicinity of the tabernacles. With head held high in the conviction of their innocence, they go into uncertain exile full of confidence in the One who feeds the birds in the sky and tends the lilies of the field. They even felt that fulfillment which the Beovich expected from His disciples, "You are blessed when you are hated and persecuted by

mankind...

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mankind. Be joyful for Me and your reward will be great in Heaven." Truly these men and women are masterpieces of the "Divine Smithy".

At this time, that which is forged by the hammer on the anvil is our Youth: the growing, tender youth - not yet formed and in need of education and we cannot spare them the blows of the hammer of unfaithfulness, of hostility against Christ, of wrong doctrines and bad morals, which are taught to them and even pressed upon them during social evenings in their hostels and during the service hours of their youth organizations which they have joined, as we are told, voluntarily, "with the consent of their parents".

What do children hear in those schools which they must attend nowadays, without any consideration of the wishes of their parents? What do they read in the new school books? Christian parents, ask to be shown the books, particularly the history books of the secondary schools! You will be shocked by the complete neglect of historical truths. In the privileged state educational centres, the Hitler Schools and training centres for future teachers, every influence of Christianity, even every practice of Christianity is excluded on principle. What about the religious instruction for those teachers and their religious instruction for those teachers and their religious practice? Christian parents, you have to look after all this, otherwise you neglect your sacred duties; otherwise you cannot face your own conscience nor Him who has entrusted you with the children, so that you may lead them on the way to Heaven.

We are the anvil, not the hammer. Unfortunately, you cannot spare your children - noble and tender raw material - the blows of the hammer dealt by the enemy of good and truth. But the anvil is creative too.

Likens...

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Liken your home, your love and your faithfulness, your exemplary Christian life unto a firm and unshakable anvil, which intercepts the strength of the hostile blows. This anvil must support the tender strength of the young people. It must fortify their sacred will not to be deflected from their way towards God.

It may be necessary, particularly during the war, to impose strong supervision and state planning, even seizure of goods and forced management on national economy on production as well as on consumption; but who would not gladly put up with this out of love for our people and country. But this planned economy means a dependency of every individual on many persons and functionaries. If these persons are representatives of anti-Christian philosophy (*Weltanschauung*) and if they try to convert those who depend on them to their philosophy, the freedom and independence of conviction might be imperiled. This danger to independence is still stronger in the case of officials. Much courage is necessary if they profess publicly to be real Christians and prove themselves as true Catholics in spite of all pressure.

Just now we are the anvil and not the hammer. Be strong, firm and unshakable like the anvil against all blows, serving most faithfully your people and country; be ready at the same time for the greatest sacrifices according to the words of the Apostle, "You must obey God - not man! Through our consciences, formed by our creed, God speaks to everyone of us. Always obey the voice of your conscience." Take as an example the Prussian minister of justice of a former time, whom I have mentioned once before and whom Frederick the Great asked to change a justly pronounced sentence of a court according to his own desires.

This time indeed, whereupon was von Munchhausen,

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gave the following answer; "My head is at your disposal, your Majesty, but not my conscience." He meant to imply: I am ready to die for my King obediently, I would even accept death by the hangman, as my life belongs to my King, but my conscience belongs to God alone! Has this species of noblemen disappeared? Are the Prussian officials of this kind dead? Are there not any more business and professional people, peasants, artisans and workmen of the same conscientiousness, and of the same nobility of mind? I cannot and I will not believe that! And, I, therefore, say again and again, "Be strong, firm - resist like the anvil under the blows of the hammer. It might be that this obedience to God and loyalty towards your conscience will cost me and you, liberty, life and home; but, "rather die than sin". May the grace of God, without which we cannot do anything, give you and me this unshakable endurance. My Dear Catholics of Muenster! During the night of July 7-8, the nave of the Dome was pierced by an explosive bomb. On the following night, another bomb destroyed the Ludgerusmonument, the monument of the blessed Bishop Johann Bernhard Brinkmann's return from exile in 1884. The statues of both Bishops Suiker and Gppo on both sides of this monument have been badly damaged, but the stone figure of Our Lady Ludgerus, the Apostle of our Muensterland and the First Bishop of Muenster, has scarcely been damaged. His unshaken right hand is raised towards Heaven in blessing as though he announced us by this almost miraculous salvation; whatever might come, aling to your Catholic creed, given by God to your forefathers.

The legend is the symbol of all destruction of human works, the most hideous, infamable and persecuting! Lift up your hands! Let your speak to you and me, his 70th successor to the Episcopal seat of Muenster in the words of our saintly Doctor, the First Pope, at the time of the

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first persecution of Christians. "Be humble under God's almighty hand, then He will uplift you in the right hour. Throw all your sorrows on Him, be sober and watchful, because your enemy Satan is going about like a lion roaring for his quarry. Resist him by being loyal to your faith! The God of Mercy, Who has called on you through Jesus Christ to join Him in Glory after a short time on earth, will arm you, strengthen you and make you firm. To Him belongs the honour and Glory from eternity to eternity.

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

MEMORANDUM to Joseph Barnes  
Edd Johnson

270 Madison Avenue  
New York, N. Y.

September 19, 1941.

SUBJECT:

BRITISH PRESS SERVICE  
30 Rockefeller Plaza  
New York, N. Y. Circle 6-5100

I invited Mr. Wheeler-Bennett to come in to see Colonel Buxton and me. Unfortunately Colonel Buxton did not come back today, and I have therefore arranged to take him to see Wheeler-Bennett next week.

So far as questions relating to short-wave broadcasting are concerned, Wheeler-Bennett confirmed the distinction between BBC and Ministry of Information, as stated in my memorandum concerning the latter. I asked Wheeler-Bennett whether he would find out if his Minister would make available to us all directives issued to the PBC when and as they are issued in order that we might be informed of any discrepancies that may exist between their directives and ours. I said that we could not hope to avoid discrepancies, but that I thought it was desirable for us to keep each other informed as much as possible. He agreed to this and will do the necessary.

As regards any information desired by us from any sources relating to the British Empire, he and Aubrey Morgan will be glad to act as our post office. He said he thought this would be more effective than using the Inter-Allied Information Center. I brought up the question raised by Conyers Read (see my memorandum of September 17th). He said that the way for us to get information from Canada or Australia was definitely not through his office but direct from the Legations - in effect he said that any inquiries from our Government through the British Government to Canada or Australia would be resented. The Dominions are not effectively represented on the Inter-Allied Information Center. It therefore seems clear that Dr. Read should make his own contacts with the Dominion Legations through Jimmy Roosevelt, and so far as Wheeler-Bennett is concerned there is no objection to Dr. Read's going direct to the British Library of Information. This is what Dr. Read was particularly anxious to do.

W. J. D.

If there is anything further you wish me to do about this, please let me know.

s/a to Colonel Donovan.

J. P. Warburg

x basic page

~~THE PEACE OFFENSIVE - ITS TECHNIQUE~~

X.

In every war of any magnitude and long duration there comes a point at which one side or the other attempts to employ the methods of peace in order to further the ends of the war. The use of the peace offensive by belligerents is employed with a number of objectives in mind:

- o.g. (1) To assuage war-weariness at home.
- (2) To capitalize on the same factor of war-weariness in the enemy's camp,
- (3) To consolidate an advantageous position which would begin to deteriorate if the war were to continue indefinitely.

It is nearly always employed by the side which believes itself to have a temporary advantage but is uncertain of being able to maintain that advantage in the face of the superior resources of its opponents.

A PEACE OFFENSIVE, therefore, is a sign of insecurity.

The technique of the peace offensive is of a varied nature. It may take the form of a silent diplomatic approach to all belligerents (e.g. Ferdinand-Ballweg in November 1915); or through the agency of a neutral state (e.g. the German efforts via Madrid and the Hague in 1917); or again it may be a carefully organized campaign of inspired speeches and newspaper articles, directed for what is conceived to be a convincing school of thought in the opposite camp. The methods used which Wilson used in 1918, falsely simplified by the International Justice and the spokesman of Mr. Wilson and General L. Smith.

It is a fundamental fact that in the last war Great Britain and her dominions may peace offensive of her

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own nor respond to any similar approach whether from a belligerent or a neutral source. She remained confident in ultimate victory even in the darkest moments of disaster and clung to the belief that peace could only be attained by the military defeat of Germany.

### III.

In the present conflict Herr Hitler has adopted various techniques of the peace offensive, each directed at limiting the war and consolidating the conquests he has achieved.

After the defeat of Poland and her partition by the Reich and the Soviet Union, the Führer declared at Danzig on September 19th, 1939: "I have neither toward England nor France any war aims," and claimed that as Germany and Russia between them had solved the problems of eastern Europe, there was no valid reason for the war to continue.

Though the Allies did not respond directly to this tentative offer of peace, it was, nevertheless, in part successful; for, by making possible the period of "Münchener", Hitler was able to gain time for his preparations for the destruction of France. Although he had demonstrated time and again that he would actually make the C. force despite his professed love of peace, Herr Hitler succeeded in lulling Britain and France into the belief that, somehow or other, the war would be stopped before it became a general conflagration; and thus, perhaps the Führer did indeed intend, after all, to keep his promises not to prosecute the war against the British Empire. They still hoped that sufficient preparation for defense would be

enough . . .

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enough, and that Germany would be defeated either by disintegration from within, or by the iron hand of the blockade. They, therefore, settled down to a "phony war" in blind confidence in the Maginot Line and the British Navy.

The peace offensive was renewed on October 6th, 1939, when the Führer offered peace to Great Britain and France on the basis of their recognition that all European affairs east of the Rhine should be settled by Germany and Russia. No territorial demands were made on France, and only the return of the former German colonies was asked of Britain. Moreover, Hitler renewed his pledges to respect the independence of Switzerland, the Low Countries, Scandinavia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania.

It was intimated unofficially that the German Government would wait ten days for a reply, and the offer was rejected by Hitler on October 10th, 1939, at the ~~auswärtiges Amt~~. But before the time limit had expired, Mr. Chamberlain (on October 12th) and M. Daladier (on October 7th) had made it known that no peace could be envisaged as long as Hitler did not propose to renounce the independence of Poland and Czechoslovakia. It may be noted that at this moment the "no peace with Hitler" theory had not made its appearance.

The second peace offensive was, therefore, considered a failure, and the Führer closed this phase on November 11th with the words: "What now remains to be done will be addressed to the British in a language they will understand." But the period of "phony war" continued until April, 1940, when the

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sudden attack on Norway preluded the sweep into the Low Countries, the collapse of France, and the evacuation of the B.E.F.

The success of the Western blitzkrieg and the elimination of France as a military factor in the war, brought Herr Hitler squarely up against that strange divided attitude towards England which has characterized his whole outlook since the days of Mein Kampf. A curious ambivalence of thought has made him desire to be at the same time both Britain's lever and her destroyer, and the strategic position of the German armies in July 1940, forced him to take a decision in favour of one or other of these roles.

It is to be believed that he genuinely hoped that Britain, in realization of her exposed and vulnerable position, would yield without further struggle. It seemed inconceivable that, alone, without allies, with her army dispossessed in disorder, and without equipment, Britain would do other than come to terms, and Hitler undoubtedly hoped that he could by a single stroke, bring the war to a rapid conclusion, and satisfy, at least partially, both his psychological urges toward Britain.

In his speech to the Reichstag on July 18th, Hitler seemed to be waiting, almost impatiently, for a sign of British capitulation. His tone was one of warning and yet of realization of the magnitude of the challenge if Britain should by some miracle continue the struggle. Mr. Churchill might, perhaps, for once, so believe me when I prophesy that a great Empire will be destroyed; an Empire which it never was my

intention...

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intention to destroy, or even to harm." But he added in a moment of clear vision: "I do, however, realize that this great struggle, if it continues, can only end with the complete annihilation of one or other of the two adversaries."

Britain's refusal to respond to this form of peace offensive, and her determination to prosecute the war with every fibre and sinew of her being, compelled Hitler to extend his war effort indefinitely. In a desperate effort to bring the war to a speedy end, he launched the Luftwaffe against Britain, and when that assault failed he abandoned also the direct techniques of peace offensive.

(L.D. - From the facts at present available, it is impossible to say at this stage whether the Hess affair was designed as a peace offensive. It can, however, be said that in a sense, whether intended as such or not, it had much of the effect of one, since by reason of the secrecy with which it was handled, the suspicion of Britain in the United States was greatly increased.)

## III.

The new phase of the war which began with the close of the Battle of Britain in September 1940, presented Hitler with two alternative policies. The struggle had now largely developed into a duel between Britain and the Reich, and the Führer could either propose a peace which would be acceptable to his adversary, or adopt some means of destroying her. Rebuffed on the first score, he adopted the second, and for the period of a year no peace offensive, direct or indirect, was abandoned.

More recently, there are indications of a return to the use of peace warfare. The occasion is the new turn taken in the German campaign.

If...

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If, having captured Moscow, Hitler had been able to disengage himself from the Russian adventure, and give the German people a sufficiently convincing picture of apparent gains and successes, there is good reason to believe that he would have taken the opportunity to "freeze" Europe into the pattern of the New Order. He would, it is thought, have convened the second Congress of Vienna and summoned not to it/only the thirteen contracting parties of the anti-Comintern Pact, but also the puppet regimes of the occupied States, including France and even Russia, and the four remaining neutrals - Sweden, Switzerland, Portugal and Turkey.

To this would have been presented the new Statute of Europe, and their acceptance is a foregone conclusion.

It is more than possible that Hitler would have then declared the war at an end as far as he and the Continent of Europe were concerned, and in preparation for this he coined the special phrase of "the Fortress of Europe", which is being repeated ever since in all channels of propaganda. He would also have announced that he would only bomb Britain in reprisal for a continuation of the R.A.F. operations and he might even have suggested the suspension of the blockades by both sides.

But this form of peace offensive was still-born. Not only did Moscow not fall, but the Soviet armies wrested the initiative from the Nazis, and assumed the offensive. Consequently with this there grew up a new line of peace offensive propaganda in America.

~~From certain quarters here came~~ I whisper that the German Army, though it could not win the war, would not be defeated by Britain on land, and that, therefore,

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the German General Staff was the only factor with whom a peace could be made. As the German reverses in Russia became more severe, the whisper took on a variation. It was now said that sooner or later the split between the General Staff and the Party would come to a head, and that then it would be possible, after the elimination of the Führer and certain of his cronies, to come to a reasonable peace with the Army. It was added significantly that it was as much to the interest of Britain and the United States as it was to that of Germany to prevent a Russian conquest of Europe; surely it was not the purpose of the Allies to substitute a Bolshevik domination of Europe for a Nazi one.

~~Below~~ in conjunction with the dismissal of Field-Marshal Brauchitsch and Bock, this whispering may have one of two meanings. It is conceivable that a break has actually occurred between Hitler and his General Staff, and that a group of disgruntled generals is actually planning a oup d'état in the hope of obtaining more favorable terms for Germany, and having liquidated the war in the West, of securing a free hand against Russia.

On the other hand, it is also conceivable that the Nazi party, like good strategists, have already prepared positions on which to retire should the cessation arise. Deliberately capitalizing on the fact that many genuine differences of opinion have existed in the past between the Party and the Generals, and that these have been deliberately magnified by the wishful-thinking outside of Germany - the events leading up to

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the Venlo incident, for example, have not been forgotten... it is possible that the Nazi party have now in preparation a "phony" Reichswehr peace offensive to be carried out by certain generals, notably Keitel and Reichenau who have sold out to the Party. These officers having been purposely groomed and coached for the role of "Moderates" and would stage a coup as a result of which Hitler might "retire" to Berchtesgaden, and certain other leaders might also disappear. A certain amount of blood purging of the Party would also take place to add verisimilitude.

The Generals might then add to themselves certain conservative moderate elements such as Schacht, Neurath and Schwerin von Krosigk, and make the Allies a peace offer involving . . . evacuation of all western, central and south-eastern Europe, in exchange for the retention of Poland, and a free hand with Russia. The danger to Europe of Russian conquest of Germany would be used as a trump card.

The important aspect of both these variations of the theme of a Reichswehr coup lies not so much in the question as to whether the coup is "phony" or genuine, but in the fact that no matter if it is a feint or not, the policy of such a coup would be entirely consistent with the long-range policy pursued by the German Generals since its inception in 1860, when, after the crushing defeat of the Prussian armies at the hands of Napoleon, Schleswig and Holstein began to rebuild the military machine. They were determined that it would remain the main-spring and ultimate repository of power in Prussia. It was for this reason that they took immediate steps to capture the nihilistic and "woolly" revolutionaries generated by the activities of the Tugendbund,

convinced ...

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convinced that true patriotism could only be expressed through the medium of militarism.

The dangers of this political theory were recognised by their great civilian contemporary, Baron von Stein, who wrote in warning: "We shall wait in vain for the awakening in our country of that public spirit which the English and the French and other peoples possess, if we do not imitate them in setting for our military leaders certain bounds and limitations which they must not disregard."

But Stein's warning went unheeded, and his predictions were fulfilled. The power of the military machine grew with the expansion of Prussia and Germany. Held in check temporarily by Bismarck, it waxed strong under his successors, and reached its apogee under the rule of Germany by the Hindenburg-Ludendorff condominium of 1916-1918.

This latter period offers a very cogent example of the military machine as a "peace-maker." The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, dictated at the command of the General Staff, deprived Russia of 34% of her population, 85% of her agricultural land, 85% of her beet-sugar land, 54% of her industrial undertakings and 80% of her coal mines. In addition she was forced to agree to pay 6,000,000,000 marks in gold, bonds and gold, and which she actually made gold payments of 130,000,000 dollars. This was the treaty which was described by the Army controlled German press as one of "understanding and conciliation," and to which Hitler himself referred to [in] 1939 as one of "positively boundless humanity."

The policies of Bismarck and Hindenburg went down to defeat but not destruction in the debacle of 1918.

Buried . . .

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Burned and tended with sedulous care the flame blazed up again in the Nazi Revolution of 1933, and the Army entered into a blood brotherhood with the Nazis when it openly condoned the blood-bath of June 30th, 1934, and later pledged its fidelity to Hitler on the death of Hindenburg.

There had been many among the former General Staff who openly repented the errors of the Great War, which had temporarily deprived them of power. Chief among these they counted the failure of the military party to insist on a negotiated peace after the defeat of the Marne, a peace which would have left the military machine intact, and with sufficient strength and influence to prepare for the next assault. These elements still survive, and might well be ready to play the role assigned to them by Hitler in the hope that, out of the inevitable welter and chaos resulting from the conclusion of hostilities, they might still seize power and preserve for future conquests the traditions and policies which Scharnhorst and Clausewitz had engendered.

The policy of the German militarists is to be entirely opportunistic, to control government when they can, and, when this is impossible, to await the appropriate moment for the seizure of power. Whether in the present situation, they are being used by Hitler, or whether they are under the impression that they are using him, is, from the practical point of view, of little importance, for the army has become identified with the National Revolution and cannot, therefore, be considered at all consistent with which negotiation is possible. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that this way is not likely to make Germany safe for the General Staff.

BUT

But in addition to this major peace-propaganda offensive, there are at least two others in operation, both of which are directly traceable to German radio propaganda.

The first of these was the rumour, widely purveyed, that Germany and Russia may conclude a separate peace. The objectives of this attack are obvious. It is an attempt to capitalize on the deep-seated distrust and abhorrence of Bolshevik Russia in certain British and American circles - a factor which has become exacerbated by the refusal of the Kremlin to declare war on Japan - and at the same time to terrorize Britain into suing for peace under the threat of a liquidation of the war in the East, and the consequent freeing of Germany's hands to concentrate her war effort elsewhere. In addition, of course, there is the remote hope that this note might possibly strike a resonant chord within the Soviet Union itself.

The second rumors campaign relates to the possibility of a separate peace between Japan and China. Such an achievement had long been the ambition of Nazi diplomacy. It was attempted abortively in 1939, by the German Ambassador at Beijing, Dr. Oskar Frankmann, and doubtless hopes were again raised by the recent publication on November 20th, 1941, of General Chiang Kai-Shek's communication to President Roosevelt forewarning of the possible necessity of reaching an agreement with Japan under certain circumstances.

## IV.

**III. Summary: the importance and the dangers**

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lie not so much in the chances of success of these various forms of peace offensives, as the effect which they may have in threatening national unity within the several Allied States, and in sowing discord among the Allies themselves.

"Give me Allies to fight against" said Talleyrand, and this is as true today in its perils as it was a hundred years ago. There is much strength in a Grand Alliance, but there are also many weaknesses, for which the closest watch must be kept. Not the least of these is that of suspicion of intention, and it is this chink in the armour which the enemy will endeavour to reach with his propaganda.

In North America itself the peace offensive technique may afford a source of serious threat to national unity and war effort. The Isolationists have made great play with their gesture of accepting the leadership of the President in the present national emergency. This is but a cover for the activities which they are carrying on underground. They have abandoned no whit of their opposition to the Roosevelt policy of assisting Great Britain, and refuse to regard themselves at war with Germany and Italy. There is no total war but merely a translation into belligerent terms of their inherently pacifistic outlook on national interests.

Today they lie quiet, but if there should arise in America a wave of depression due to heavy casualties and severe reverses in the Pacific, they will reappear with a policy which will demand that pressure be applied upon Britain to negotiate a peace with Germany, and upon France's hands to defeat Japan. Should this combine with, or precede, a peace offensive

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from Berlin, the gravest complications will arise, not only affecting the internal political situation in America, but the whole course of Anglo-American cooperation for war and peace.

Is it in preparation for this that after three weeks of belligerent German radio propaganda is pursuing towards America almost identically the same technique as that employed against Great Britain in the autumn of 1939, and which initiated the disastrous period of the "phony war"? All aggressive intentions towards the United States are disclaimed and the attacks are centred on the President as they were on Mr. Churchill (then First Lord of the Admiralty) in 1939.

The dangers are present and preparations must be made to meet them. We must not be "caught on the ground" by the sudden attack of either the Axis or the Isolationists. Every whisper of a negotiated peace or of the conclusion of a separate peace by any of the Allied Powers should be immediately denied. It must be realized - it must be borne in upon the very subconsciousness of the British and American peoples - that these weapons are among the most dangerous in the Axis Armory, the more potent because they are the real "secret weapon" of the enemy.

[Redacted]

Bukharest  
wheeler-Kennedy  
Truman  
FEB 1945

It is an accepted probability that the Nazis will launch a phase offensive against Great Britain and the United States in the near future, but there is as yet an uncertainty as to the form which the offensive will take.

There are two alternatives:

If, after the capture of Moscow the Germans are able to disengage themselves from the Russian adventure and give the German people a sufficiently convincing picture of apparent gains and successes, Hitler will take the opportunity to "freeze" Europe into the pattern of the New Order. He will convene the second Congress of Vienna and summon to it not only the thirteen contracting parties of the anti-Comintern Pact, but also the puppet regimes of the occupied States including France and even Russia, and the four remaining neutrals - Sweden, Switzerland, Portugal and Turkey.

To these stooges will be presented the new Statute of Europe, and their acceptance is a foregone conclusion.

It is more than possible that Hitler will then declare the war at an end so far as he and the continent of Europe are concerned, and will declare that he will only bomb Britain in reprisal for a contribution of R.A.F. operations, and may even suggest the suspension of blockade by both sides.

So much for the results of a "success" in Russia.

The other alternative is contingent upon the Soviet Union's ability to maintain an mobile front in the East. With a running fire in their side, a source of continual creation of new power, the Nazis have a much more sly and far more subtle plan for a second offensive.

With good strategists they have already made no position on which to retire politically should the invasion arise.

Even from the early days of the Nazi revolution there has been current the hope of a Nazi victory in the Party and the Army. There was naivete in the last nine years that this was impossibility, but today it is one of the most sinister and dangerous weapons in the Nazi treasury of propaganda.

Definitively and basing on the fact that  
the Nazis have genuinely existed in the

Prest ...

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past, and that this is well-known, certain generals have been groomed and coached for the role of the "moderate forces" which will replace the Nazi regime. These generals certainly include Keitel and Reichenau, and possibly Brauchitsch and Bock also, but of these the first two are certainly 150% Nazi, having sold out to the Party well before the Revolution of 1933.

In their new guise, the "moderates" will "prevail" upon the Führer to retire to the Berghof, and will also "arrange" for the withdrawal of other prominent Nazi figures. A few old private scores may even be wiped out in blood to make the picture more convincing. Other civilian "moderates" will then join the military junta - the infamous Hjalmar Schacht, beloved of big banking the world over; Count Schwerin Von Krosigk, the present Finance Minister, a former Rhodes Scholar - and so gentlemanly and civilized; and even Baron von Neurath whose "humane" rule of Bohemia and Moravia was replaced by the deviltries of Heydrich.

Following the current lines of propaganda - that the German Army, though it cannot win the war, cannot be defeated, and that therefore the Generals are the only factor with whom a peace can be made - the "moderate" German front, will offer terms which will be both superficially plausible and generous. These may include evacuation of the West, and South East of Europe, the restoration of Czech and Austrian independence etc. And in return there will be asked the retention by Germany of her Polish conquests and a free hand in Eastern Europe.

This whole plan is consistent with the long range policy pursued by the German General Staff since its inception in 1867, when, after the crushing defeat of the Prussian armies at the hands of Napoleon, Bismarck and Onsenu began to rebuild the military machine, they were determined that it should remain the main spring and ultimate repository of power in Prussia. It was for this reason that they took immediate steps to expunge the nebulous and weakly patriotism permeated by the activities of the Fugerbund, maintained that true patriotism could only be expressed through the medium of militarism.

The dangers of this political theory were recognised by their great civilian contemporary, Baron von Stein, who wrote in warning: "We shall wait in awe for the awakening in our country of that public spirit which the English and the French and other peoples possess, if we do not imitate them in setting our military leaders certain bounds and limitations which they must not disregard."

Baron Stein's warning went unheeded, and his predictions ...

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predictions were fulfilled. The power of the military machine grew with the expansion of Prussia and Germany. Held in check temporarily by Bismarck, it waxed strong under his successors, and reached its apogee under the rule of Germany by the Hindenburg-Ludendorff condominium of 1916-1918.

This latter period offers a very cogent example of the military machine as a "peace-maker." The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, dictated at the command of the General Staff, deprived Russia of 34% of her population, 32% of her agricultural land, 88% of her beet-sugar land, 54% of her industrial undertakings, and 80% of her coal mines. In addition she was forced to agree to pay 6,000,000,000 marks in goods, bonds and gold, on which she actually made gold payments of 120,000,000 rubles. This was the treaty which was described by the army controlled German press as one of "understanding and conciliation", and to which Hitler himself referred in Mein Kampf as one of "positively boundless humanity."

The policies of Scharnhorst and Gneisenau went down to eclipse but not destruction in the debacle of 1918. Nursed and tended with sedulous care the flame blazed up again in the Nazi Revolution of 1933, and the Army entered into a blood brotherhood with the Nazis when it openly condoned the blood-bath of June 30th, 1934, and later pledged its fidelity to Hitler on the death of Hindenburg.

There had been many among the former General Staff who openly repented the errors of the Great War, which had temporarily deprived them of power. Chief among these they counted the failure of the military party to insist on a negotiated peace after the defeat of the Marne, a peace which would have left the military machine intact, and with sufficient strength and influence to prepare for the next assault. These elements still survive, and would be ready to play the role assigned to them by Hitler in the hope that out of the inevitable war and chaos resulting from the accumulation of hostilities they might still retain power and preserve for future conquests the traditions and policies which Scharnhorst and Gneisenau had engendered.

The policy of the German militarists is to be publicly apportionist, to control government when they can, and, when this is impossible, to await the appropriate moment for the seizure of power. Whether in the present situation, they are being used by Hitler, or whether they are under the impression that they are using him, is, from the practical point of view, of little importance, for the Army has become identified with the National Revolution and cannot therefore be considered as an element with which negotiation is possible.

20.11.41

Top ↑

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

To:  
FROM:  
SUBJECT:

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

DATE:

✓ Boester  
↓ Groch  
J. + Groch  
+ Bennett  
+ J. +  
L. + Groch  
J. + Groch  
Then ✓ Report to  
✓ Groch

letter to me & file; report to CIA

Exposure 15 123 070

DIRECTOR GENERAL



✓ 10  
Telephone: CIRCLE 6-5100  
Cables: DIGESTION, NEW YORK

BRITISH INFORMATION SERVICES

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA

NEW YORK CITY

September 13th 1941.

Dear Bill:

I am enclosing herewith a copy of  
a letter which I sent to our mutual friend, on  
the subject of conditions in France, of which  
I spoke to you the other day. I think you ought  
to find it of interest.

With all good wishes,

Ever yours,

John W. Wheeler-Bennett.

Col. William T. Donovan,  
Office for the Co-ordination of Information,  
Federal Trade Commission Building,  
Washington, D.C.

AW

C  
O  
P  
Y

British Information Service, NYC

Copy to Col. Donovan

September 9th 1941.

Dear

There came to see me today a Mr. Reopell with recommendations from the Press Attaché at Lisbon. He is alleged to have been Chief Press Officer at the United States Embassy in Paris, under Myron Herrick, and has lived in Paris ever since. He claims to be the last American to leave Paris, having been there as recently as July 23rd.

Our conversation ranged over a number of topics, out of which several interesting points arose:

- 1) There have been many more arrests of prominent persons in Paris than has been allowed to get into the press.

Commandant de L'Hopital, formerly aide-do-camp and adjutant to Marshal Foch, was arrested as an anglophile and sentenced to six weeks solitary confinement. Mr. Reopell describes him as having emerged from this ordeal a very sick man.

In addition the Curé of St. Sulpice has been condemned to five years in a German fortress, and the chief medical officer of the Garde Mobile of Paris to four years in a French prison, both on a charge of being anglophiles.

- 2) Mr. Reopell reports that the Curé of Notre Dame de Lorrette is amongst the most dangerous of the collaborationists. He has betrayed two British agents, and as early as March of this year preached a 15 minute sermon in favour of collaboration.
- 3) Many Alsations have been deported to East Prussia, and have been settled south and east of Königsberg. They were forced to leave on very short notice, and were forbidden to take any of their household possessions with them. Each house had to be left exactly as it was so that it could be occupied immediately by German immigrants. Mr. Reopell did not know from which part of Germany the new settlers in Alsace have been drawn. He said that he knew that large numbers of German women

and...

-2-

and children had been shifted to the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.

- 4) An old acquaintance of Reopell's is Mr. Warrington Dawson, an American long resident in Versailles (of which town he is an honorary citizen), who has been unofficial advisor to many American Ambassadors, and has a wide circle of acquaintances. He is on very friendly terms with the Marshal, who quite recently sent him a message by a lady who is practically the adopted daughter of himself and his wife. The message to Mr. Dawson, which was recounted to Mr. Reopell, was to the effect that the Marshal felt himself to be completely out of touch with the real feeling of France, and that he was purposely surrounded with functionaries and "Yes Men" by his camarilla.

I have no means of checking Mr. Reopell's statements but I thought you might be interested in having them.

Ever yours,

signed... John W. Wheeler-Bennett.

Copied by AW

Top ↑

of green  
the edges of  
18

Off. 6.3

## OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

**SECRET**

## INTEROFFICE MEMO

**FROM:** Major Lowman  
**TO:** Colonel Donovan  
**SUBJECT:** MONITORING

DATE: October 1, 1942

As you requested, I have checked carefully into the question of monitoring stations in the United States which are now being used to send propaganda to other countries. This includes propaganda directed to South America, as well as to enemy and allied nations.

Broadcasting for propaganda purposes is being conducted mainly by the National Broadcasting Company and the Columbia Broadcasting System. It is also being carried on by the Office of War Information, which has leased or taken over certain stations. It is my understanding that WLW, Cincinnati; WRUL, Boston; the Westinghouse station; the Schenectady station; a Fross Wireless station on the West Coast; an A.T.& T. station; and a private station on the West Coast are all being supervised by the O.W.I. The N.B.C. and C.B.S. stations are independent.

However, all stations in the United States broadcasting propaganda must make recordings available to the F.C.C. In addition to this, all of them have lines into the Office of War Information where they are listened to at the time of the broadcasts.

*SECRET*

*6/3/42*  
June 3, 1942

*\* Yugoslavia  
Trivanovitch, Vaso  
W. T.*

MEMORANDUM FOR COLONEL DONOVAN:

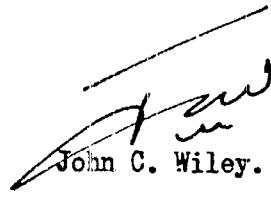
A Croat friend of ours tells us the following:

"Vaso Trivanovitch, a Yugoslav-American who also is the Serbo-Croat broadcaster over the short wave for the Columbia Broadcasting System in New York City, has informed me over the telephone that what he calls the 'Donovan Office' has recently sent him the copy of a speech by Minister Fotitch for broadcasting purposes. On the advice of Trivanovitch the Columbia Broadcasting System refused to broadcast the speech, on the ground that it contained no reference to either Croats or Slovanes but only Serbs and Serbian people, and was therefore negatively affecting the Yugoslav unity and, through that, the solidarity of the whole Allied anti-Axis front. I must add that recently Vaso Trivanovitch has not been on the best of terms with Minister Fotitch because of the latter's alleged championing of the Greater-Serbian cause. Vaso Trivanovitch is the nephew of the late Yugoslav statesman, Svetozar Pribichevich, whose son Stoyan (a friend and close relative of Vaso Trivanovitch) is one of the editors of FORTUNE magazine."

For your information, there is at present a battle going on among the Yugoslavs in which the technique of snake venom

- 2 -

therapy has reached an all time high. For the present, at least, it might be extremely well for F.I.S. to approach Yugoslavian questions with great reserve.



A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "John C. Wiley".

John C. Wiley.

TOP ↑

## COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Broadcast 10, 6802

\* Japan  
\* Alaska  
\* Brinkley Transmitter  
\* Mexican Embassy

DATE: June 8, 1942

To: Mr. James Murphy  
From: Harry Brophy H.B.

Subject:

Dear Jimmy: As you know, we have been trying for some time to secure the Brinkley transmitter so that we could get a standard broadcast signal into Japan from Alaska. We had assumed that the matter was in such shape, but the Mexican Embassy, through the First Secretary, has been, more or less, giving us the run around. Hence, this memo to Bill Kimbel.

Jill

COPY

MEMORANDUM

DRAFTED (To) 6802

x Japan  
x Alaska  
x Brinkley Transmitter  
+ Mexican Embassy

June 5, 1942

Murry Brophy

Mr. William Kinsel

I desire by means of this memorandum to provide in detail the facts concerning the negotiations with the Mexican Embassy regarding the exchange on our part of a 50 kw short wave transmitter for, on the part of the Mexicans, the Brinkley 80 kw medium wave transmitter which was located at Las Vegas opposite Del Rio, Texas.

Early in March when I was advised that the Mexican government was proceeding to expropriate the transmitter which was operated by the late Dr. Brinkley, we entered into negotiations with the Mexican Embassy following an appointment arranged by your office.

We were referred to Mr. Salvador Duhart, First Secretary of the Embassy. Mr. Duhart was interested and agreed to the exchange. On March 23 I wrote Mr. Duhart confirming our conversation relative to the Brinkley transmitter and stated "I desire to express our thanks for graciously agreeing to withhold shipment to Mexico City of the transmitter until methods of securing a 50 kw replacement with proper antennae have been completed."

One of the reasons why the Mexican government agreed to the exchange was their inability to harness and operate the powerful Brinkley transmitter.

Despite their agreement, which was confirmed by letter, the Mexican government shipped the Brinkley transmitter to Mexico City where, presumably, it probably is deteriorating rapidly because of the lack of engineering talent and proper safeguards.

As soon as I learned that the transmitter was being shipped to the Mexican capital, I repeatedly attempted to get in touch with Mr. Duhart, but he failed to answer either telephone calls or other messages.

During my absence from the office, my assistant, Major Stern, continued to attempt to get in touch with Mr. Duhart, but on each occasion was told that Mr. Duhart was absent and would return the call. Major Stern has failed to do, both in answer to my telephone calls and to his personal visits.

Mr. Kimbel

-2-

June 5, 1942

I need not emphasize to you the importance of obtaining this powerful medium wave transmitter. It plays an integral part in our overall program and speed is necessary, because of the necessary delay in transportation and engineering, to place it in operation.

Today I finally managed to get Mr. Dahart on the telephone and protested the shipment of the Brinkley transmitter to Mexico City. He could offer no satisfactory explanation or the promise to have it returned to Del Rio where it would be accessible for our future use.

I feel that the importance of the problem is such that you should be advised of the details and would appreciate your recommendations regarding further steps.

Cordially,

Broadcast b7c  
Gaia

XXXXXXXXXXXXXX

X Middleburg  
x Royal Dutch Shell  
X Bolderton

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

August 7, 1942

Mr. S. M. Haskins  
Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher  
634 South Spring Street  
Los Angeles, California

Dear Mr. Haskins:

Since receiving your letter of July 22 I have been looking into the problem of getting some communication to Mr. Middleburg. Since June 13 the radio broadcasting facilities which were formerly under my control have been placed under the Office of War Information. Therefore, we no longer have any facilities for sending messages by radio. I wish there were some way I could help but it would be impossible for me to do anything. It would be possible through station KGET in San Francisco to send messages if such an arrangement would meet with the approval of OWI and the station.

I would suggest that you take this up direct with Mr. Warren Pierce or Miss Lois Burke, who operate the San Francisco office of OWI and who control station KGET. I hope some satisfactory arrangement can be made.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

William J. Donovan  
Director

TOP ↑

out  
car  
the

[redacted]  
Driving  
this is  
something for  
O.W.D.

~~Mr~~  
Preston

E

E

Broad east 6722  
x Middleburg Q 20  
x Royal Dutch Shell  
x Goldstein

July 29, 1942

MEMORANDUM

FOR: Colonel Goodfellow  
FROM: J. R. Murphy

I understand that the previous correspondence on this matter was forwarded to you on June 5th. Do you have any record of it and do you have any suggestions?

JRM

JAS. A. GIBSON, 1882-1942  
 W. L. DUNN, 1881-1925  
 G. R. CRUTCHER, 1880-1931  
 S. M. HASKINS  
 NORMAN S. STERNY  
 J. C. TAYLOR, JR.  
 H. F. PRINCE  
 J. C. MACPHERSON  
 E. C. CONLEY  
 R. C. GROTTY  
 PHILIP C. STERTY  
 STUART L. LAMP  
 ROBERT F. STURDY  
 HERBERT F. STURDY  
 THOMAS H. JOYCE  
 JOHN P. CRUTCHER  
 ERIC C. POWERS  
 MARK E. LITT  
 ROBERT C. HEARY  
 EDWIN J. CHAPMAN  
 ROBERT F. SCHWARTZ  
 ROBERT C. DAVIDS  
 DAVID P. EVANS  
 GEORGE O. JACELS  
 ERIC C. STURDY  
 LEWIS T. STURDY  
 VAN C. HENRY  
 ROBERT C. PECKHAM, JR.  
 GEORGE H. WHITNEY  
 ERDOL C. DUNN  
 CHARLES O. CHANDLER  
 FREDERICK O. FIELD

\* IN WAR SERVICE

GIBSON, DUNN & CRUTCHER  
 LAWYERS  
 634 SOUTH SPRING STREET  
 LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

Broadway 6722  
 x Middelberg  
 CABLE ADDRESS GIBTRASK

x Royal Dutch Shell  
 x Balderston, John

July 22nd, 1942.

RE'D 8/2 6/5  
 Goodall 6/5  
 Colonel William J. Donovan,  
 U.S.A. Coordinator of Information,  
 270 Madison Avenue,  
 New York City, New York.

My dear Colonel Bill Donovan:

This letter is written on behalf of Mrs. Virginia Hamilton Middelberg (a niece of Mrs. Haskins), wife of Gerrit A. A. Middelberg. Mrs. Middelberg and her young daughter are now living with her father, E. C. Hamilton, 3655 East First Street, Long Beach, California.

Mr. Middelberg who is a citizen of Holland and who has held for several years a responsible executive office for Dutch Shell in Borneo, if still alive or uncaptured, is somewhere in the jungles of Borneo. By an arrangement long previously planned he headed a party of about one hundred and fifty people, to seek refuge and if possible be of military service in the jungles, should the Japs take Borneo. When Balik Papan was bombed Mr. Middelberg sent his wife and child to Java. Three or four days before the arrival of enemy forces on that Island, the mother and daughter and others managed to escape to Australia on an unseaworthy and condemned steamship, the trip taking eleven days. On a converted Matson Liner they made San Francisco a few weeks later.

Mr. Middelberg has no information that his family is safe in this country. Nor has Mrs. Middelberg any information regarding her husband. To get word to him she devised a radio message, the source of which he will fully understand, and so be assured that she and the daughter are safe and sound. The party in the jungles has radio receiving equipment.

Accordingly Mrs. Middelberg, in a letter, suggested the radio message. She is satisfied that its wording would convey no information that would in any way jeopardize the safety of her husband. That letter was forwarded to your department by Mr. John L. Balderston, one of her friends. Its receipt was acknowledged by Mr. J. B. Warburg, an Advisory Assistant of your department. His original letter is attached.

Col. Wm. J. Donovan

-2-

July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1942.

I am also enclosing a letter of July 9th from Mrs. Middelberg to me, and for your convenience a typewritten copy of it.

It will be noted that the message proposed is written on behalf of Mrs. Middelberg herself and also other refugee friends.

Mr. Middelberg I know well. He is an able man of good character. He was in Southern California several years representing Shell Oil interests. It was here that he married. Incidentally, he had supervision of the task of dynamiting oil wells and other properties in Borneo.

Mrs. Middelberg, an attractive and intelligent young mother, is rendering useful war services at Fort MacArthur and elsewhere. Her experiences have received prominent comment in the local press. Her services are in demand.

If I may add a personal note, let me say I would mighty like to see you again. May the opportunity arise one of these days and soon.

With very best wishes, I am,

Yours sincerely,

*Sam Haskins*

H:G  
Encs.

S. M. HASKINS

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION  
210 MADISON AVENUE  
NEW YORK CITY

Broadcasts 6722  
x Middleburg 3349  
x Long Cut 5422  
x Balderson 7477

June 4, 1942

Mr. John L. Balderston  
1800 Angelo Drive  
Beverly Hills  
California

Dear Mr. Balderston:

I have passed your letter  
of the second on to Colonel Donovan.

I cannot tell you what it  
will be possible to do, but if anybody  
can arrange the matter, he can.

Sincerely,

J. P. Warburg  
Advisory Assistant

Dear Virginia — John just  
sent me this memo to pass  
on to you — Colonel  
Donovan is head of the  
whole business so you're  
getting action anyway —  
Warburg

Top ↑

3655 East First St  
Long Beach Calif  
July 9th

Dear Uncle Sam —  
As I write this wondering  
if you are having a nice time  
these hot days in Carmel or  
in your hot bed Los Angeles.  
In reference to our  
conversations about a message  
I was hoping could be sent  
out over short wave radio to  
Gerry I am sending a  
letter to John Baldenstein and  
which was eventually sent on  
to me by Mrs. Davis whose  
husband is Mr. Baldenstein's friend.  
This letter "letter of the second" passed  
the "letter of the second" passed  
onto Colonel Donovan included  
the following reasons  
for sending the broadcast  
for satisfaction of myself and

These messages were all very short and  
it would take only at most 3 minutes to  
read them off. I especially stressed in  
my letter that the message should be  
sent immediately before or preferably immediately  
after the news播傳 which reached  
Java at about 4:30 pm or 8 pm. I avowive as  
these were the only ones likely to be heard  
over there. The reason for broadcasting  
immediately after the news is because the  
news is, most probably the only thing those  
people dare listen to. Also I mentioned  
that radio K.G.E.I. San Francisco must be the  
station the messages are broadcasted from  
as from much personal experience I  
know that that is the only American  
station one can receive from in Netherlands  
East Indies. Other American stations

all others mentioned in  
the broadsheet and the  
words of the micrograph.  
It was a message to  
Genit known me and also  
Genit directed to "Benny" his  
wife Mrs. Eva Bond Walker  
of Cleveland to "P. K. Rose" known  
as wife David H. Rose and was  
sent son to George H. Harvey his  
wife Marion "Mabel" Rose and  
son Johnny to "Doc" Walker  
Gwinnett wife and children  
Lurie O. de Raina of the "Daily  
and to Rolf and Queenie who are  
anxious about "R. K. Rose" in  
his sister Anna's home  
of course the message and  
read all know him as a bad  
man to control the Rose  
no longer had to get the gun

Top ↑

are impossible to bear out there except between 4:00 am & 5:30 a.m. when most people are not listening.

The rest of the story you know I believe, and I think you feel as I do that even this little bit of a message if received, will help tremendously those people there who do not even know whether their families are alive or dead. Especially it would be such a help to Gurn and his group who are isolated completely from any communication with anyone except for the receiving of news over radio.

It is so nice if you can offer to help in this and if I could just even know whether the message had been sent or not I could send that knowledge on to the wives here who are so anxious to know.

Thank you again and God bless,  
Virginia

Broadcast 6/1  
x Middleberg, G.A.  
x Fayal Dutchess  
x Balderston, John  
3655 East First St.,  
Long Beach, Calif.

July 9th.

Dear Uncle Sam:

As I write I'm wondering if you are having a nice time these hot days in Carmel or if you are in hot Los Angeles.

In reference to our conversation about a message I was hoping could be sent out over short wave radio to Gerrit, I am enclosing a letter to John Balderston and which was eventually sent on to me by a Mrs. Davis whose husband is Mr. Balderston's friend. The "letter of the second" passed on to Colonel Donovan included one from me telling reasons for sending the broadcast, identification of myself and all others mentioned in the broadcast and the words of the message. It was a message to Gerrit from me, and also others directed to "Bony" from his wife Mrs. Erno Bonebakker of Cleveland, to "Klaas" from his wife Dorothy van der Weg and son Klaasje, to "Harry" from wife Marian White Rombouts and son Johnny, to "Does, Viesje and Guusje" wife and children of Mr. L. A. de Laine of Melbourne, Australia, and to "Wolf and Ancy" who are Mr. and Mrs. Rolf Naher in Java from his sister Miss Naher of New York City.

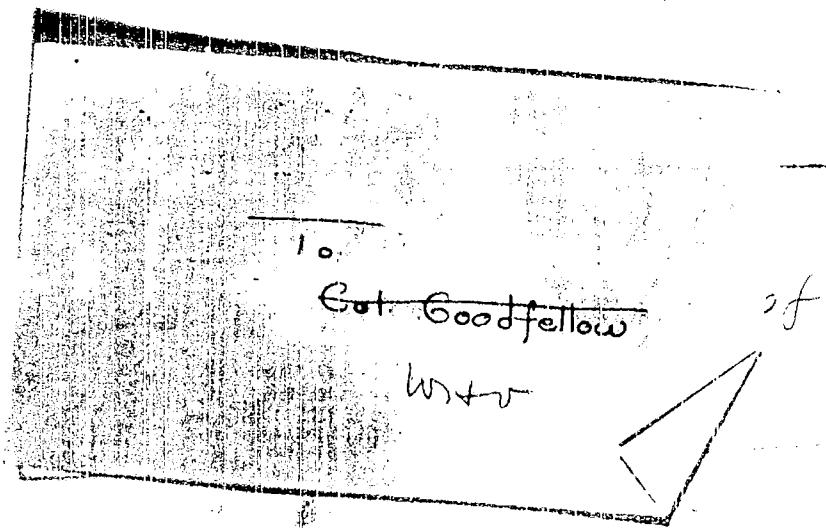
Of course the messages were really all from me as I had no time to contact the people before I had to get the thing off. These messages were all very short and it would take only at most 3 minutes to read them all. I especially stressed in my letter that the message should be sent immediately before or preferably immediately after the news periods which reached Java at about 4:30 p.m. or 6 p.m. Java time as those were the only ones likely to be heard over there. The reason for broadcasting immediately after the news, or during the news is best, is because the news is most probably the only thing those people dare listen to. Also I mentioned that radio K.G.E.I. San Francisco must be the station the messages are broadcasted from as from much personal experience I know that that is the only American station one can receive from in Netherlands East Indies. Other stations are impossible to hear out there except between 12 a.m. and 3:30 a.m. when most people are not listening.

rest of the story you know, I believe, and I think do that even this little bit of a message, if received, will help tremendously those people there who do not even know if their families are alive or dead. Especially it will be a help to Gerrit and his group who are isolated from any communication with anyone except for the regular news over radio.

It is nice of you to offer to help in this and if I could just even know whether the message had been sent or not I could send that knowledge on to the wives here who are so anxious to know.

Best love to you and Aunt Elize,  
Virginia.

TOP ↑



Even No. rolls!

Exposure is 1/25 @ f.6.3

Brennan  
x Clegg  
x Rosenblatt  
x Rosenthal

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION  
270 MADISON AVENUE  
NEW YORK CITY

June 4, 1942

Colonel William J. Donovan  
Coordinator of Information  
25th and K Streets, NW  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bill:

The attached letter is self-explanatory. In view of the gentleman's activities as a guerrilla, I thought you might be interested in complying with the request.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

J. P. Warburg  
Advisory Assistant

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION  
220 MADISON AVENUE  
NEW YORK CITY

June 4, 1942

Mr. John L. Balderston  
1800 Angelo Drive  
Beverly Hills  
California

Dear Mr. Balderston:

I have passed your letter  
of the second on to Colonel Donovan.

I cannot tell you what it  
will be possible to do, but if anybody  
can arrange the matter, he can.

Sincerely,

J. P. Warburg  
Advisory Assistant

W

PHONE  
CR-6-9560  
1800 Angelo Drive  
Beverly Hills, Calif.  
June 2, 1942

Mr. Paul Warburg  
Office of Co-ordination of Information  
Madison Avenue at 40th Street  
New York City

Dear Mr. Warburg:

Because you at least know who I am, I am sending you the enclosed request in the hope that you will put it through the proper channels if this is deemed proper.

All that I can say is that I know Mrs. Midelberg, an American citizen, and have satisfied myself that all this is on the level. She wants messages sent to her husband and others who are heading a guerrilla band in the interior of Borneo, through your short wave in San Francisco and when she called there was unable to get this done.

The particulars about herself and these people are enclosed as written by her. She says her husband has a receiving set, and she promised she would try to get this done when she escaped to America.

Yours very truly,

*John. Balderson*

JLB:mc\*

I arrived in the United States on April 19, 1942, from Java, Dutch East Indies, having left there on February 24. My husband is still in the Dutch East Indies on one of the large islands now in the hands of the Japanese. He is heading a guerilla band there and is completely isolated from any communication except radio. The radio in Java sent out the information that my daughter and I were leaving there, but the dangers in getting away from Java and to America having been great, I would very much appreciate having a message of my safe arrival sent to my husband from here.

My husband has a radio receiving set and he listens nightly to the news broadcast from radio KGER San Francisco. The news he receives comes at approximately eight o'clock Java time.

My husband is Gerrit A. Middelberg, field manager with the Royal Dutch Shell and a First Lieutenant of the Dutch East Indies Army. His last position with the Shell Co. was in Balikpanam Borneo.

I am Mrs. Virginia Hamilton Middelberg. Address, 3655 East First St. Long Beach, California. I have lived in the Dutch East Indies for twelve years but have retained my American citizenship and residence here and have a passport issued to me on February 12, 1941. It is now in the possession of the State Department in Washington, D.C. My father is E. C. Hamilton of Long Beach.

I enclose the message to be sent over the radio to my husband and also if it should be possible to send, messages for some of his friends. To identify the people in the above mentioned messages, all the men are employees of the Royal Dutch Shell.

They are:

Harry Rombouts. Wife Mrs. Marion White Rombouts and son living in Cleveland, Ohio.

Erno Bonebakker. Wife Mrs Susan Gale Bonebakker whose father is Mr. Gale of Cold Stream Rd. Santa Barbara.. Klaas van der Weg. Wife Dorothy and baby living probably in San Francisco.

Gus de Laiva. Formerly General Manager of Royal Dutch Shell in Babo, New Guinea, now with Shell in Melbourne Australia. His wife Does and children, Veisje and Gusje are in Bandoon Java.. Rolf and Ancy Naber are somewhere in Java. Miss T. Naber of New York City is a sister of Mr. Naber..

For Broadcast

For Gerrit: From Ginnie and Marianna.. We are well and comfortable with my father. Your mother and father are well. We love and admire you always. We will not try to communicate with you unless we hear from you first.

For Harry: Marion and Johnny are well and with Marion's family.

For Bony: Sue is very well and in good spirits.. The baby is expected in August. She is with her brother now.

For Klaas: Dorothy and Klaasje are well and safe..

For Does, Viesje, and Gusje:

Gus is well and working for the company.. He is not coming to America yet.

For Aney and Rolf:

Ginnie has written your sister.





COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NEW YORK

21 East 40th St

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

March 12, 1942

Colonel Wm. J. Donovan  
Coordinator of Information  
26th and E Streets, NW  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Colonel Donovan:

I told you on the telephone last night that Colonel Bissell, G-2 War Department, expressed his opinion that it would be useful if we had representatives in three or four of the large cities on the Pacific Coast. He thought the degree of usefulness would depend largely on the persons selected. He said he would, with some personal embarrassment, recommend his brother for our consideration in Los Angeles. He added that he made such recommendation in a purely dispassionate spirit because of his brother's unusual qualifications. He gave me the following biographical data:

Leet W. Bissell - now a member of the  
Firm of  
Brown, Bissell & Beery  
334 First Trust Bldg  
595 East Colorado St  
Pasadena, California

Los Angeles Office -  
912 Rowan Bldg  
458 South Spring Street

Born - April 4, 1896

Education - Private school in the U.S.  
1 year school in Bermuda  
4 years school in Germany  
4 years Hamilton College  
Graduated A.B. 1914

Graduated Harvard Law School 1917

-2-

Colonel Wm.J.Donovan

March 12, 1942

Military Background -

2nd. Lieut. and 1st Lieut., Regular Army  
1917 to April 1919

Graduate Staff School (G-2 Section) at  
Langres, France

Served as Assistant G-2, Third Division, A.E.F.

Wounded October 25, 1918 in action losing  
one eye

Retired as 1st Lieutenant, Regular Army,  
because of disability.

Law Practice -

1920-1922 - Cullen and Nykman, Brooklyn, N.Y.

1922 to date - partner in present law firm  
with offices in Los Angeles and Pasadena  
(see address above)

Married daughter of Irving T. Bush, (Bush  
Terminal).

Languages -

Speaks and reads German fluently

Reads French readily

Conversational French fair

References - He is well known to the following  
Officers:

Admiral Allen Kirk -U.S.N. -formerly head of  
CIA in Washington

Brig. General Harold Bull -Office of G-4  
War Department

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Colonel Wm.J.Donovan

March 12, 1942

Major Harold Jones - U.S.Army - recently assigned to the Office of the Coordinator of Information

Maj.General Ralph H.Van Deman - San Diego, Cal.

Colonel Bissell states that his brother is most anxious to participate actively in the war effort; that he is well and favorably known in the Los Angeles area having been active in various public spirited civilian affairs.

He has maintained his interest in military matters through the years and has, as well, been close to naval interests through his friend Admiral Kirk when the latter was on duty in Southern California.

It seems to me without any further knowledge of the matter that Mr.Bissell is the type for whom we have been searching; namely, a man with an intelligence background and with local civilian standing.

If you approve, I would like to telephone Commander Ringle, head of ONI in Los Angeles, and ask for his estimate of Colonel Bissell's brother. I would also explain to Commander Ringle exactly what we had in mind emphasizing the fact that this is not an attempt to exercise authority over or "to coordinate" local services, but on the other hand to aid when possible, to supplement and to secure expert opinion on questions in the area.

I would also think it wise that I telephone Captain Ralph Riordan, head of MID in Los Angeles, whom I met very pleasantly when he was the Intelligence Officer at Fort MacArthur. He has, I understand, since been selected by MID for their Los Angeles office. Also, Mr.Hood, special agent in charge of FBI in Los Angeles, who was very cooperative when I was in the area and I am certain, so far as he was personally concerned, would be glad to hear from me and to express his opinion of Mr.Bissell.

Colonel Wm.J.Donovan

March 12, 1942

It may be, because of the recent letter from Mr.Biddle, that you would prefer to handle the FBI direct in Washington when we are ready. Therefore, I will await your instructions on this matter of Mr.Bissell.

Most sincerely yours,

*Ard.*  
G. Edward Buxton

GMB RS

ROUGH

## COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NEW YORK

21 East 40th Street

March 5, 1942

4611

110-100000

July 1942

22

~~SECRET~~

Colonel Wm J. Donovan  
 Coordinator of Information  
 25th and E Streets, NW  
 Washington, D.C.

Dear Colonel Donovan:

Last night I spent two hours with Mr. "Kelly" and I enclose some material which impresses me as entitled to serious study.

(1) Suggestions for broadcasts to Italy

I think that this material should serve as a basis for a series of broadcasts to Italy and at the same time I believe it should be studied with a view to a printing which should be distributed in Italy by the Stanley Organization.

This proposed broadcast reflects "Kelly's" view that Italy is the weak spot in the Axis; that her participation as an Axis member is utterly illogical and contrary to the natural sympathies and desires of the Italian people.

Lastly, that the Italians have already sufficient experience to know that in this war they have everything to lose and nothing to gain.

(2) Memo on some problems affecting shipping and the defense of New York Harbor

I think this is important and should be given serious study and placed in the hands of the Government agencies directly involved, including the President, Army, Navy and Maritime Commission. The current investigation of the destruction of the "Normandie" makes this very pertinent. "Kelly" tells me orally that this longshoremen's organization is run wholly in the interests of Ryan, its head, and the little coterie of his associates. To quote "Kelly" - "It is rotten to

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Colonel Wm.J.Donovan

March 5, 1942

the core and filled with racketeering".

As his report says, the delays which took place under this system are both "inexcusable and criminal" and in addition wide open to Axis saboteurs. His report substantiates in detail the experience of the "PM" reporter concerning the "Normandie".

- (3) Two Studies -  
One on Myshuna  
One on Granowsky

"Two leading Ukrainian fascists and Nazi agents who are engaged in fifth column activity among the Ukrainian-Americans".

I recommend that you give this to Mr. Hoover personally together with the anti-subversive material previously sent, if you have not yet done so.

I should also think it worth while to give copies to G-2, OWI, for their information.

In discussion of this report, "Kelly" states that the Ukrainian revolutionary movement started in a anti-Soviet revolutionary drive but like every other political movement in the world can now be expressed in terms of this war and this organization has been captured by the Nazis and, therefore, is an enemy of our side.

(4) Memo on St. Patrick's Day

I think you should bring this idea to the attention of representative Americans of Irish extraction of the type referred to by "Kelly"; namely, Farley, Flynn, Al Smith, Mahoney and some trade union leaders.

- (5) The balance of this report deals with statements made by Kelly verbally.

A. Recommendation concerning May Day.

While May Day in the United States has been previously supported only by left wing elements, throughout

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Colonel Wm.J.Donovan

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Europe it has become the equivalent of our Labor Day, - and May 1st is a general holiday for both right and left wing workers. "Kelly" suggests that we give publicity well in advance to addresses to be made at suitable hours during the day or evening of May 1st on a worldwide hook-up, including Latin America, by Phillip Murray, William Green and two or three well known emigres of suitable background who have fled from Germany, France and Poland or perhaps other important enemy and occupied countries. He thought that part of the preliminary publicity might state that Phillip Murray, himself a mine worker, would include a special appeal to the French and German mine workers and that William Green might perhaps address some special words of friendly greeting to British and Russian mine workers.

There also should be something for Chinese and Indian and Latin American workers.

This whole idea would require careful and detailed preparation and advance publicity to insure a proper audience.

B. Verbal report on negotiations of  
Rockefeller Committee representative  
with "Kelly's" organization.

You will remember that "Kelly" asked us previously if a man named Blumenthal was an authorized representative of the Rockefeller Committee. "Kelly" has, however, satisfied himself that Blumenthal is doing intelligence work for the Rockefeller Committee and that he is in liaison with Army, Navy, F.B.I. and our Colonel Selberg. Blumenthal has been approaching some of "Kelly's" subordinates. "Kelly" had refused to meet him until satisfied that it was an official, though undercover, approach and until obtaining my approval to such a meeting. As you know, I told him to go ahead and help them any way he could. Therefore, he met Blumenthal, who he understands is a Wall Street Banker now associated with the above described work for the Rockefeller Committee. Blumenthal gives "Kelly" an uneasy impression that "he talks too freely" for a man doing intelligence work but says Kelly "that's not my responsibility".

Blumenthal asked for a special study on the "Communist" movement in the United States. "Kelly"

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Colonel Wm.J.Donovan

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promised to prepare such a report and will give us a copy as soon as it is prepared. He says he told Blumenthal that there were many thousands of this Mexican, fascist, anti-Yankee group in the Southwestern border States. Here again, he said, is an example of a political organization whose original ideological activity has been submerged in the universal necessity of choosing sides in the world war; Yankees or Nazis. The Sinarquistas have joined the Nazis, and are our enemies.

Blumenthal then asked if "Kelly" could help him in France and Spain. He said that while his primary mission was with Latin America, his Committee felt it would now be necessary to do some supplemental work in Europe.

Blumenthal asked "Kelly" if he had talked with the Donovan Organization. "Kelly" said that under his agreement with me he felt it necessary to reply "No". "Kelly" said that he decided at this point to stall until he could talk with me and get further instructions on this request for assistance in Europe. Blumenthal said that he wanted "Kelly" to talk with a man named Solberg of the Donovan Organization. "Kelly" replied that he was not at present prepared to do so, again stalling to talk with me. "Kelly" finally told Blumenthal that he would not undertake any aid in France but that he was, of course, in a position to give a great deal of information about Spain because of his personal responsibility for Latin America and the position of the Communist party in Spain.

"Kelly" said that he wanted our advice on this whole situation. He said it was apparent to him that there was much duplication and overlapping and competition going on in Government agencies and that as an individual citizen he deplored such a situation. He said he had heard rumors of pending reorganizations of certain Government agencies. He said he wished to express his personal hope that if such a reorganization took place it would head up under Colonel Donovan because of the confidence which he believes many elements of the population, from old soldiers down to the Communist party, feel in the Colonel's "singleness of purpose regarding the war, his patriotism and his aggressive temper".

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Colonel Wm.J.Donovan

March 5, 1942

I told "Kelly" that I would consult with you on the situation and let him have your views. I said that so far as we were concerned I could tell him that you were not influenced by any competitive feeling toward other Government agencies; that none of us had any political or personal ambitions and that we had only one enemy, the Axis, and we were participating in only one war.

I told him I knew you would want him to help any authorized agency of the government by making available any information which fell within the jurisdiction of that agency's activity. I added that since he had expressed a desire to work with us we would be glad to be his primary contact and to have the same information given us that was given to anyone else.

I think you and I should discuss this problem next week so that I may know whether you wish to support or modify my position.

C. I asked "Kelly" if he had any direct representatives in the French Fleet. He said his connections were only indirect. He said that some time ago the Communist Party had a large membership among the enlisted personnel of the French Fleet. He said the French Government became aware of this fact and discharged whole crews en masse. The Government then replaced these crews with young boys from country districts of France. He said that at the present time not over 20% of the French crews were members or sympathizers of the Communist Party. It was his opinion, however, that a real majority of enlisted men of the French Fleet were opposed to fighting the English and especially the American fleet.

D. It is the opinion of "Kelly" and his associates, based on whatever information is available to them, that it is possible to knock Germany out of the war within the next twelve months, particularly if the English and Americans are willing to risk a second front, somewhere in Europe or just outside. He thinks we have got to be willing to take risks and heavy losses; that the next twelve months are vital. He has complete confidence that with such a diversion Russia will knock Germany out of the war. "Kelly" believes that when this is accomplished, Japan can be licked in 1943.

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March 6, 1942

Colonel Wm.J.Donovan

I regard this highly optimistic opinion as of interest only because it indicates the confidence and high morale of the American Communist party. I feel that it is based, in part, upon their conviction of Russia's invincibility.

"Kelly's" belief in emotional evangelism leads him to the opinion that even the non-military Hindu can be made into a formidable fighting man when "he is given something worth fighting for".

"Kelly" does not believe that English promises will bear any fruit in India. He thinks the only possible solution is to give them self government now. Apparently, he believes that the Mohammedan objection to Indian self government would not prove a serious obstacle.

"Kelly" agrees with us that there should be more bands and marching and emotionalism in this country. He thinks we are too placid and resigned.

I regard him as the type of idealist who would rather fight a "lost cause" than smother in perfumed ease.

Sincerely yours


  
G. Edward Buxton

GEB FB  
enc

POUGH

No. 2

To: Col. G. E. Buxton

Subject: Memo on Some Problems Affecting Shipping  
and the Defense of New York Harbor

March 2, 1942

New York harbor's approximately 30,000 longshoremen are sufficient to handle the tremendous shipping imposed upon the port in the current war situation. Moreover, the majority of the longshoremen could be effectively mobilized to expose, check, and help prevent Axis sabotage and espionage on the waterfront.

However, the conditions under which these 30,000 dock workers are employed are such that the war needs of this vast shipping center are not being effectively met, and until vital reforms are instituted, the following conditions will persist:

- 1) Manpower, because of the "shape-up" system of hiring, will continue to be used inefficiently.
- 2) Because of the incorrect and haphazard utilization of manpower, ship loading and unloading will remain in its present chaotic state.
- 3) Morale of the longshoremen will remain unsatisfactory, particularly because of insecurity of employment which is directly augmented by the "shape-up" system.
- 4) The door will remain wj open for saboteurs and other Axis agents to enter the public piers and ships.

Regarding the first two points: the "shape-up" system of hiring has been the subject of numerous investigations and studies by the government and private groups over a period of years. The consensus of opinion of all is that this method of hiring is simply inconsistent with the nature of an industry as large as that existing in the port of New York. The longshoremen themselves for years have rebelled against the system, but thus far they have been unable to remedy the situation. This is due to a lack of support from the officials of the International Longshoremen's Association, and because of strong opposition on the part of the shipping lines and stevedores.

The "shape-up", reduced to its simplest terms, has all the characteristics of migratory labor (compressed, of course, into a small area). Dock workers select piers at random at which to "shape" each morning at 8 A.M. and at 1 P.M. in the afternoon.

During peace-time, there was some possibility for the dock worker to learn about incoming ships and accordingly to select certain piers to "shape". But in the present emergency war situation, with movements (incoming and outgoing) no longer publicly announced, the average longshoreman "plays a hunch" each time he selects a pier to "shape". Or he may rely on word spread around the waterfront that such-and-such a pier may have a ship in on the morrow.

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The average longshoremen will tell anyone interested in the problem that this sort of job-seeking is disheartening and does anything but build morale, especially that morale requisite for ensuring an all-out war effort.

Virtually every day along the Manhattan and Brooklyn piers, some piers have hundreds of longshoremen seeking jobs, while other piers with newly arrived ships lose hours, and often days, in securing enough men to work.

Only recently, a five hatch ship arrived at the Cunard Line ~~pier~~ pier at the foot of 14th Street (February 26th). At the usual 1 P.M. "shape" time, there were no "sailors" (deck men) at the pier seeking jobs. They were scattered in "shapes" at other piers where there were no ships tied up, and it was 3 P.M. before agents of the Cunard Line were able to round up enough men to handle only two of the five hatches.

Thus, in this instance, this vessel was not fully loaded until almost a whole day had been lost. The ship, incidentally, was carrying lend-lease material.

Longshoremen report many instances where vessels were delayed for several days at a time. At a time when every hour counts in the war against the Axis, this delay is both inexcusable and criminal.

The "shape up" also carries within it the seeds of corruption and racketeering. The "kick back" (payment back by longshoremen of part of their earnings to unscrupulous foremen, etc.) is widespread. Buying of jobs is an everyday occurrence. These facts are indisputable and ample evidence to this effect is on hand in the files of District Attorney William O'Dwyer, of Brooklyn, special prosecutor of John Harlan Amen, and in the files of the District Attorney of New York County. This evidence was furnished in affidavits and oral testimony of scores of longshoremen who have been victimized.

Regarding point 3: Morale among longshore workers is far from satisfactory. In contrast to other war industries, there is not yet a widespread spirit of "everything to win the war". There is a serious lack of desire on the part most longshoremen to co-operate with the employers in devising ways and means of speeding production. Generally, this is by no means the fault solely or primarily of the longshoremen. For there is very little incentive for longshoremen to make the necessary sacrifices as long as the "dog eat dog" atmosphere of employment and the insecurity of the "shape-up" continues.

Meanwhile, these conditions adversely influence many longshoremen and tends to make them an easy target for dangerous rumours (of which the waterfront is plentiful) and for subtle Axis propaganda.

However, once the "shape up" is abolished and the government and the shipping lines indicate that the solving of the waterfront problem of production is a joint government-employer-labor ~~pier~~ problem, morale will immediately shoot up to a high point.

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As to point 4: Any able-bodied man with an ILA (International Longshoremen's Association) button in his cap can join any "shape up" on the waterfront and stand a chance of eventually getting a job. Likewise, any able-bodied Axis agent, intent on sabotage, espionage, or sowing discord, can secure a button. This fact needs no elaboration. New York newspapers have proven this by sending men to the waterfront. And, as is well known, at least one reporter got aboard the Normandie in this manner.

Clearly, the "shape up" and the lack of proper check up upon the thousands of waterfront workers tends to make New York harbor a happy hunting ground for saboteurs and other Axis agents. In view of these conditions, it is the opinion of competent observers that the following steps should be taken without delay:

1) Abolish the "shape up" and replace this system of hiring with some sort of a responsible hiring hall. This could be most effectively accomplished through a combined government-employer-union operated hiring hall. The efficiency of this sort of regulation of employment already has been ~~recent~~ definitely proven on the West Coast where union hiring halls function through the rotary system of hiring.

The hiring hall method of employment would immediately shut the door to practically every ~~new~~ evil such as exists on the New York waterfront today. The bribery and "kick back" which has as its basis the existence of the "shape up" would disappear; the possibility of enemy agents securing employment would become extremely difficult; and the morals of the longshoremen would immensely bolstered due to the end to job insecurity.

2) Eliminate the present system of securing pier and ship guards through private agencies. Guards and watchmen could and should be secured and their background thoroughly checked upon through the proposed government-employer-union operated hiring hall. Moreover, the longshoremen should be mobilized to help guard the docks and ships as part of their daily work. For no one is better qualified to guard these vital war centers than the average dock worker who knows the waterfront like the palm of his hand.

A tie-up between enemy powers and certain New York pier guard agencies has been strongly hinted at in several recent newspaper stories, and openly charged by Congressman Samuel Dickstein. The fact that up until October, 1939, one month after the start of hostilities of World War II, one of the biggest pier guard and ship watchmen agencies had members of the Hamburg-American and the North German Lloyd Lines sitting on its board of directors has been positively established. Yet these agencies continue to supply men to "guard" the vulnerable New York piers and its shipping.

Another important condition that requires immediate action in order to help safeguard and defend the port of New York against fires and sabotage is the need of securing proper safety equipment, fire-fighting apparatus and to systematically check up on New York's piers. It is not generally known (but an inquiry to the officials of the New York Fire Department will confirm this fact), but today an artificial "jurisdiction"

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prevents the Fire Department from entering the docks except only during an emergency or a fire. The Fire Department is powerless to conduct inspection of fire prevention equipment or to compel the shipping lines to throw out and replace worn, obsolete or useless equipment with new effective apparatus. From the "street bulkhead" out, the piers are completely under the jurisdiction of the Department of Docks, headed by Dock Commissioner McKenzie.

Longshoremen will tell anyone who asks that with few exceptions the docks are frightfully unprepared to effectively combat fire; that the hose lines have not been taken off the racks for ten years at a stretch to be tested; that extinguishers are obsolete, unfilled, or in some cases are nowhere to be seen. In regards to this, it would be well for interested government authorities to call in for questioning the survivors of the disastrous S.S. Panuco fire last autumn which swept a Brooklyn pier with a heavy loss of life. These men can testify to the criminal lack of adequate safety provisions of most of the piers.

The Fire Department should be given war-time emergency powers to supplant the existing pier ordinance which gives the Department of Docks complete jurisdiction. It should be given the right to regularly inspect equipment and, where necessary, to compel the installation of necessary equipment.

In conclusion, it needs to be emphasized that to rapidly and effectively overcome the dangerous situation now existing on the New York waterfront, it is advisable and necessary that the Federal Government should intervene and energetically take appropriate action.

Objections from the shipping companies to essential reform should be decisively swept aside. The membership of the ILA should be influenced and mobilized to do their part, which they will when the issues are squarely placed as vital to the furtherance of the national war effort. In this connection, it is possible that some of the leaders of the International Longshoremen's Association could be persuaded to help "clean up" and rectify the present situation on the waterfront and in their organization, and could help make the port of New York and the ILA one of the most efficient and dependable war centers in the nation.

###

No 3

February 28, 1942

Attention: Col. G. E. Buxton

Messrs. Myshaha and Granowsky, to whom the attached reports refer, are two leading Ukrainian fascists and Nazi agents who are engaged in fifth column activity amongst the Ukrainian-Americans.

D.

New York, February 24, 1942.

M Y S H U H A

Dr. Luke Myshuha resides at 325 York Street, Jersey City, N.J. He is the editor-in-chief of the Ukrainian Daily Svoboda published at 83 Grand Street, Jersey City. He is a man of about 55-56 years of age, and was born in Galicia when ~~Austria~~.

Already around 1920 Myshuha became known to Ukrainians and Poles residing in Western Europe as a German informer and there are documents, available in this country, to show that this apparently was so.

In 1921, Myshuha came to the United States, as a sort of representative of a spurious "government" of Galicia (or "Western-Ukrainian Republic"). The "government" was at the time located in Vienna, and the territory over which it ruled extended to nearly a whole floor in an office building on Windmuhlgasse, in the Austrian capital.

Myshuha came and began collecting money for his "government". The business was pretty prosperous and he was said to have collected for himself a sum of some \$30,000 on the side.

He made frequent trips to Europe, using all kinds of passports while, at the same time applying for citizenship in America.

Around 1930-35, when his "government" had already moved from Vienna to Berlin and was financed by the Germans, Myshuha suddenly broke away from the chief of his "government", one Eugene Petrushevich now deceased, and has cast his lot with Eugene Konovaletz who, too, broke away from the "government" and went to serve the clandestine military formations of the Germany of tomorrow. In the course of time, Konovaletz has become a nucleus and a "Fuehrer" of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, known for short as OUN, and Myshuha became its chief agent in America.

Around 1930 a regular subsidiary of the OUN was formed in the United States.

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It received the name of the ODWU, short for "Organization for the Re-Birth of the Ukraine". The members of the American organization were tied together by a secret oath, and one of its aims consisted in extending its control over all the key positions in the Ukrainian colony of America. Consequently, in 1933, Myshchuk was promoted to the chief editorship of Svoboda, one of the leading Ukrainian-language papers in this country. His promotion to the above post had been achieved with an active organized help of the secretly-working ODWU.

Since 1933, ~~when~~, the Svoboda had become, for all practical purposes, a propaganda organ of the Nazi General Staff and, around Svoboda, various activities began to be centered, of which the founders of the Svoboda, back at the end of the 19th century, would have never even as much as dreamt.

Under the editorship of Myshchuk, Svoboda proclaimed, openly and without hesitation, that Hitler Germany, Italy of Mussolini, and the Imperial Japan were friends of the Ukraine, while International Jewry and Bolshevism were its avowed enemies. (Actual copies of Svoboda available with above and similar quotations).

In 1942, Myshchuk became <sup>for naturalization</sup> a citizen of the United States, thereby gaining greater freedom of movement. That the statements he made at the final examination, were partly false, did not bother his conscience. However, there are reasons to believe that even after he had become a citizen of the U.S., Myshchuk used on occasions Lithuanian diplomatic passports for the purpose of travelling.

He went to Europe again and again and, as the war approached, he became an increasingly important link between the central Nazi machine in Berlin, and its various ramifications in America.

In 1938, Myshchuk strongly supported <sup>the</sup> dismemberment of Czechoslovakia by the Nazis, declaiming over the Nazi radio network, "in the name of millions of Americans of Ukrainian descent", that the latter were strongly in favor of such a dismemberment, regarding Hitler as "protector" of national minority rights. He then travelled to London - some say in a Nazi government airplane - and laid memoranda before the British Foreign Office. In his memoranda he continued to speak "in the

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name of millions of Americans of Ukrainian descent", although he had positively no mandate to do so. When questioned by a doubting British Consul in Paris whether his views were perchance endorsed by the State Department in Washington, Myshukha, according to his own written admission, unhesitatingly proclaimed that such was the case.

On returning to the United States (towards the close of 1938) Myshukha continued to devote his time to Nazi propaganda and to various other activities in favor of the Nazi government, all the time posing as a fervent partisan of the break-up of Czechoslovakia, and Poland, and of <sup>the</sup> separation of Ukrainian territories from the Soviet Union. He found many dupes among highly placed Americans who mistook this crude Nazi intrigues for a genuine Ukrainian patriotism. There were others however who were not quite <sup>so</sup> naive, but <sup>who</sup> found - for reasons of their own - cooperation with Myshukha congenial, and interesting - in many respects.

At the present time and at this particular moment, in talks with his intimates, Myshukha promises an "American Rivne" in <sup>the</sup> not so far-distant future.

There is not <sup>the</sup> slightest doubt that Luke Myshukha is a secret Nazi agent of considerable importance. He is intimately mixed up in hundreds of clandestine plans and schemes. In the Ukrainian colony he occupies a key position. Not only he is the editor-in-chief of one of the most important Ukrainian papers in this country; <sup>but also</sup> through faithful henchmen whom he <sup>has been</sup> able to place in various posts in the 40,000,000 Ukrainian National Association, of which the Svoboda is the official organ, he practically rules this fraternal body with its 40,000 members disseminated all over the United States.

There is not a key industry in the country to which Myshukha hasn't got an access.

He is a very slippery individual, not very easy to catch. A great dissimilator and, possibly, an addict or druggie.

Removal of Myshukha would very considerably weaken <sup>the</sup> Nazi underground machine, especially in so far as American Ukrainians are concerned.

New York, February 24, 1942.

GRANOWSKY

Alexander Neptitsky-Granowsky is a professor at the University of St. Paul and he resides at 2101 Scudder Street, St. Paul, Minn.

His wife is said to be German.

Granowsky is the titular head of the ODWU (Organization for the Re-Birth of the Ukraine), a branch of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) whose headquarters, or the Provvid, is located in Berlin, Germany.

Granowsky is a naturalized American citizen, and a War Veteran. He was born in Russia. This makes him almost invulnerable in as far as the American authorities are concerned. This precisely was the reason why he was selected for the national presidency of the ODWU.

Granowsky is something of a figure-head, and is not the most important personality in the Ukrainian pro-Nazi movement in the United States. Nevertheless, as a National Chairman of the Berlin-controlled ODWU, he plays a certain part which should not be discounted or unduly minimized.

A random quotation from the official ODWU Nationalist will give an idea of Granowsky's mentality:

"Early in May, 1938, a meeting was convoked in the notorious "Ukrainian National Home", at 217 East 6th Street, New York City, at which Granowsky delivered a lecture. The meeting was organized by the New York cells of the ODWU, and Granowsky spoke as the National Chairman of the Organization. In his lecture Granowsky glorified Hitler Germany stating that in Germany, under Hitler, "the spirit of the people has gained the upper hand". Granowsky warned Ukrainians not to count upon the support of their immediate neighbors (such as Russia, Poland or Czechoslovakia) thereby implying that the aid of nations somewhat further removed from the Ukraine's borders would be welcome. Darkly he hinted in the course of his lecture that "we are strong, because One Third of the Polish Army, and the best military formations in Russia consist of Ukrainians who are unconsciously supporting the Great Day" (Der Tag). He further stated that it was in

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the interests of England (?), Italy and Germany that an independent Ukrainian State should be formed. Granowsky took issue with those who were afraid of the coming war and he said that peace would only come through war. "It is true that War brings rain in its wake, but we mustn't fear it, for we have nothing to lose". We must all the time and everywhere give our support and confidence to the Provod of the ODU and to Colonel Kanovalets (the late Maximilian Berlin-Ukrainian "Führer"). "Our youth in America must try and educate American public opinion in order that we too may get the support that Spain (of Franco) received from this country". (The Nationalist, No. 69, Vol. iv, for May 15, 1940; Pages 1 & 3).

<sup>stated,</sup> ~~As~~ <sup>and</sup> The Nationalist is the official organ of the ODU, and the above report on a lecture by Granowsky, from which we have quoted, appeared under <sup>the</sup> signature of V. Riznyk, an official of the ODU. We have thus no reason in the world to doubt the authenticity of Granowsky's words.

/The scope of the issues in question of The Nationalist can easily be supplied/ To the above it may be added ~~that~~ <sup>prior to the war,</sup> that the ODU and its leaders ~~were~~ made it a practice to address congratulatory telegrams to Hitler, Mussolini and Premier of Japan on all and every occasion that seemed to offer an opportunity for such an expression of friendly and loyal feelings. This telegram-sending business "in the name of Americans of Ukrainian descent" went on 'crescendo', especially since 1938, when the Axis ~~were~~ definitely embarked upon an aggressive path. Granowsky's name, as National Chairman of the ODU, frequently figured among the signatories of such and similar telegrams.

That was not all. In 1939, on the very eve of the outbreak of the present war, Granowsky, - in company of one Kosear, the national chairman of the parallel Canadian organization known as UNO, - went to Europe. He visited Germany, Italy and the dismembered Czechoslovakia. He was received in pony by prominent Nazi agents in Europe, as the pages of the official ODU press in the U.S. would readily identify. He came into many contacts with the Provod which, as is well known, is only a subsidiary of the Intelligence Department of the Nazi General Staff. At-

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cording to unconfirmed rumors, he was also received by many high Nazi officials and, some say, by Hitler himself. However, this would be difficult to prove unless Granowsky himself would like to talk. Nevertheless, on coming back to America, Granowsky felt that it might be worth while for him, for safety's sake, to call at the State Department and to inquire whether, in the opinion of the Department, he should register as a foreign agent. The State Department gave him some blanks to fill out which, according to Lake Myshuha's indiscrete remark, he filled out in a fraudulent or at least ambiguous manner. (Myshuha was angry <sup>that</sup> at Granowsky, ~~that~~, without previously consulting him, he went to seey around the Department).

Granowsky is a stubborn fellow of about 50-55. He is not inordinately bright but, at the same time, is not devoid of certain native astuteness of a Ukrainian. He is very fanatical and, secretive at the same time. As a man of recognized social standing he serves as a good shield for various pro-Nazi activities in this country.

~~H~~

AD. 1

To: Col. G. E. Buxton

Re: Suggestions for Broadcasts to Italy

February 28th

The following is a rough outline of certain points and items that might be included in a series of broadcasts to Italy:

1. Italy has been in one war campaign or another since 1935. For over six years the Italian people have carried the burdens of a war economy and frightful casualties, and have been goaded on to greater sacrifices with the promise that each war would bring prosperity to the people and glory to their nation.

In 1935, Italian workers, peasants and clerks were sent to the desert lands of Ethiopia - to bring bombs and destruction to the peaceful Ethiopian peoples who had no quarrels with the Italian people and no designs upon their national interests. Vittorio Mussolini wrote poetry on the joys of bombing the huts of Ethiopia, but the Italian people lost 150,000 sons and husbands in that expedition. And prosperity did not come, in spite of this sacrifice!

In 1936, Italian soldiers were herded on ships destined for "secret ports" - to faraway Spain where together with Nazi soldiers they fought against the Spanish people. When these ~~Spanish~~ patriotic people of Spain fought heroically and against great odds for their national freedom and democracy, did they threaten the national interests of Italy? Why did Italian sons have to die far from home on Spanish soil? And when the Spanish liberty-loving peoples were defeated by the combined military machines of Hitler and Mussolini, the Italian people were no closer to the promised prosperity and glory!

In 1940, Mussolini sent Italian sons into Albania; in 1941 into Greece and Libya. He tied the Italian nation to the Hitler war-wagon and aligned Italy against England, the USA and Soviet Russia. What kind of threat were these countries to the Italian people that they should once again, wearied and hungry, shoulder arms? Did little Albania or Greece threaten to invade Italian homes and foist upon the Italian people expensive armies of occupation - as Italy's ally, Nazi Germany, has done? Has the USA or Russia placed a single demand upon the Italian nation or committed a single act of hostility against the Italian people?

Prior to the outbreak of the war of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis against the Allies, did England threaten, ~~the~~ freedom of the seas for peaceful trade purposes? The fact remains that before this criminal war of Hitler and Mussolini, 80% of Italy's supplies ~~were~~ came thru her trade on the formerly free sea of the Mediterranean, unmolested by a single country with which Italy is now at war. Or did England ever threaten to interfere with or try to dominate the internal economy of Italy, as Mussolini's Nazi "ally" has already done? Then why is Italy at war with these countries who have done ~~no~~ no harm, who have not threatened ~~Italy~~ national existence, ~~nor~~ the rights or independence of Italy? Bring peace to Italy! Free Italy from the chains that tie her to the Nazi war machine!

-2-

2. The Italian people find themselves at war with four-fifths of the peoples of the world because Italy, under the dictatorship of Mussolini, Ciano and Company, has become a vassal state of Hitler Germany. The Italian fascist policies - economic, military and foreign - are controlled and determined not by Italy nor Italian needs, but by Hitler and Nazi Germany's needs. And what has been the fruits of Italy's adherence to the Axis pact of war and aggression?

Already Italy has lost even those economic positions she had previously acquired in Ethiopia and in most of the Balkans. Italy, like the rest of the Nazi occupied countries and Hitler's satellites in Europe, has been reduced to a catastrophic position, with her economy subordinated to the needs of the Reich. Nazi Minister Funk has announced that the economic status of all Europe, including Italy, is to fill the agrarian and raw material needs of an industrial Germany. If the Nazis and Mussolini have their way, Italy is to become, even more so than today, an economic vassal, a colonial appendage of Hitler's Empire. If Mussolini, his Blackshirts and the financial oligarchy of Ciano and Company have their way, the proud Italian people, who fought for a century for their independence under the leadership of the great Garibaldi and Mazzini, are to be chained to the German fascist state that threatens to enslave all of Europe.

This is not merely a plan of the future. For even today Italy lies under the heel of the Nazi warlords. Nazi armies occupy Italian cities and live off the cream of the land. Italian forts and ports, factories and streets are overrun with Nazi overseers, officers and socalled "advisers".

Italian workers are forcibly shipped to Germany to work in Nazi factories, while their families starve at home. The products of the Italian peasants are seized and sent to Germany, while their families search their land-plots for weeds to eat. The small Italian shopkeeper stands helplessly by as the Nazi occupation troops help themselves to Italian wares to ship by the trainloads home to Germany. Italian manufacturers face ruin as they are compelled to produce according to the plans and orders of Nazi-appointed overseers.

In addition, Hitler Germany flaunts its scorn and hatred in Italy's face. In their insane propaganda about the superior "aryan" race, the Nazis have branded the Italians as an inferior "dark race" - a brand that foretells a future replete with all the tortures and degradations imposed by the sadistic Hitler storm troopers upon all non-aryans.

Today Italians are allowed a bread ration smaller even than that allowed by Hitler to the officially occupied and subjugated countries like France and Norway. Italian people are allowed one-half the soap ration that is given to Nazi troops stationed in Italy. A Nazi sergeant in Italy receives the same pay as an Italian colonel.

Italians are no longer masters in their own home and country. Italy has become second fiddle to Hitler's war-mad adventures. The Italian people have become labor-power for Nazi factories, farmhands for Nazi industrial economy, and cannon fodder for the predatory and doomed Nazi-Axis wars on the Russian, Mediterranean and Far Eastern Fronts. Free Italy from Nazi German domination! Help destroy Hitlerism so that Italy may be a free and independent nation!

-3-

3. The continuation of the criminal war of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis against the great nations of the USA, Britain, the Soviet Union and China--and Italy's role in that ill-fated war -- spells increased suffering, enslavement and complete catastrophe for the Italian people. As Hitler's war machine becomes more and more bogged down by the great victories of the Soviet peoples and their Red Army, as Hitler's hordes face defeat in 1942, greater pressure is being brought upon Italy by Hitler; greater pressure to confiscate all that Italy has to feed the Nazi war machine: man, foods, materials.

Even if the Hitler regime were to win, which it cannot and will not, a Hitler victory would mean an even more arrogant binding of Italy to Hitler's "New Order" which projects the savage rule of Nazi Germany over all Europe, including over Italy and over the entire world. Italians! Save Italy from the defeat and disaster that awaits the Axis powers! Fight for an independent and peaceful Italy!

4. It is Mussolini and his Blackshirt fascists who have tied Italy to the war-chariot of Hitler and his Brownshirts. For 18 years the economic, financial, banking, and political power has been concentrated in the hands of sixty fascist Blackshirt families - headed by Mussolini and Ciano. The once penniless Mussolini has today a personal fortune of one billion lire. But the wages of Italian workers have been cut time and again by government decree. And the peasants in entire regions have lost their lands. Hundreds of small businessmen have been ruined and bankrupt. Hundreds of thousands of the best sons of Italy have lost their lives on foreign battle fields. But Mussolini has acquired one billion lire, has spent 170,000,000,000 lire of government funds in the African campaigns alone, and has ordered the Italian people to give up one meal a day and to limit the other one to the barest minimum. Break the alliance of Mussolini and Hitler! Free Italy from the Blackshirt despots and the Brownshirt enslavers!

5. Mussolini and the ruling Blackshirts of Italy claim that the people's road to glory lie along the path of war and conquest. They argue that because Italy is small - she must acquire conquests to become great; that because Italy is poor - she must seize the wealth of other nations.

This line of reasoning is false, and has brought disaster upon the ~~handicapped~~ Italian people. Precisely because Italy is a small nation (barely 43 millions as compared to 130 millions Americans, 200 million Soviet peoples, 400 million Chinese, 360 million Indians), and precisely because Italy is a poor nation with insufficient basic materials, and is a weak nation with insufficient military power - precisely for these reasons, ~~should~~ Italy assure its independence, its national ~~max~~ security and its future by establishing close ties of friendship and collaboration with all free and independent countries. For these reasons Italy should fear and avoid policies based on wars of aggression and ~~max~~ violent conquest which, as experience has shown, only make her the tool and slave of powerfully rapacious countries, such as Nazi Germany, even though they may go under the name of "ally."

The great Italian leaders, Garibaldi and Mazzini, saw this and proclaimed that the future of the Italian people lies in a national policy dedicated towards the establishment of a Europe in which the rights and national independence of the small nations are guaranteed equally with those of the large. Such guarantees, so vital to Italy's existence as an

-4-

independent nation, can be realized only with the military defeat of the Axis, only by destroying Hitler and Hitlerism, only by liberating Italy from Mussolini and fascist tyranny.

6. The defeat of Hitler Germany and the Axis is inevitable. (Give economic, military and political reasons. Give and analyze the total economic potentialities of the United Nations as compared with those of the Axis powers. Give continually a picture of the rapidly increasing tempo with which the war production is being fulfilled. Report regularly on the developments on all military fronts, giving the communiquees of each of the United Nations, exposing the false claims of the Axis reports. Report regularly on the sabotage and guerrilla activities and sentiments in the occupied countries; the military losses, sufferings and low morale of the German and Italian armies. Give instances of the high morale and unity of will and action within and between the United Nations).

Because of unfavorable economic factors, Axis strategy was based upon a rapid, blitzkrieg war. But it became a protracted war, with four-fifths of the world's humanity lined up against Hitler, Mussolini and the Mikado. Moreover, the war took a fundamental change, at the expense of the Axis. This change is represented by the historic Soviet resistance and counteroffensive, and by the growing economic mobilization and increased military action of America, Britain, and the other United Nations.

Axis defeat is only a question of time, with the prospects maturing for delivering the fatal blow to Hitler Germany in 1942. Why should the Italian nation -- the Italian people who have suffered ignominiously at the hands of Hitler and Mussolini -- go down in defeat together with their oppressors? The Italian nation and the Italian people have the choice of disaster or salvation. To realize the latter, Italy - the Italy of Garibaldi and Mazzini, the real Italy of the people - must free itself from Hitler Germany. It must work for the speedy defeat of Hitlerism and the Black-shirts. It must break Mussolini's alliance with Hitler. It must put an end to the small fascist clique which now rules and ruins Italy.

7. Italy must conclude a separate peace with the United Nations and fight against the domination of Italy by Hitler's Axis. All Italians, regardless of political ideas and social status, who genuinely love their country and treasure its national future must unite to realize this end.

To establish a separate peace, the Italian people must free their country from the great obstacle to peace and independence; they must free their country from the plague of Mussolini, Ciano and Company, the faithful vassals and lackeys of Hitler.

The Italian people need not fear that their action for a separate peace would result in a sweeping military invasion of Italy by Nazi armies and the establishment of an outright Hitler Gauleiter in Rome. Hitler is retreating on the Russian front; his army in Libya is well occupied; his occupation armies in the conquered countries of Western Europe are busy trying to stamp out the spread of the growing spirit of national rebellion and sabotage; he is faced with the prospects of a mighty Anglo-American expeditionary force in the near future. Hitler is in no position to open a new and additional front against Italy. The decisive action of the Italian people would win the united support of America, Russia and Britain, and serve to stay any move that Hitler could make against Italy.

-5-

Q. Were the Italian people to make a separate peace, they would be welcomed into the family of free and independent nations. They need fear no reprisals nor punishments at the hands of the democratic United Nations. Only if Italy continues to adhere to the Axis war-pact and continues to be a partner to the bloody persecutions and atrocities committed by the Nazi friends upon peaceful nations and peoples - only then will Italy go down to certain disaster and utter defeat that awaits Hitler Germany and its satellites.

By their actions to bring about a separate peace and thereby free themselves from Nazi rule and to divorce themselves from the crimes being committed by the Nazi war-machine - the Italian people will prove themselves worthy of the respect and aid of all decent, democratic peoples. For 18 years Mussolini maintained his Blackshirt power and eventually sold Italy to Hitler only by the most repressive suppression of all Italian democrats and progressives. By decisive action now to free Italy from Mussolini and Hitler and to bring peace and freedom to their country, the Italian people will act in the best traditions of the history of their nation.

England, America, Russia, and all of their allies, are bound by the pacts of democracy to which they all adhere - the Declaration of the United Nations and the Atlantic Charter. These pacts guarantee freedom and independence and a reasonable distribution of the few materials to all nations - large and small. Not one of the United Nations have a single design upon the national interests of Italy. Unitedly they seek to free all nations, weak and strong, from the yoke of Hitlerism and to guarantee the independence and security of each of them. In the process of this war for democracy and national independence, profound changes towards greater democracy within the British empire and the United Nations are taking place. England and her allies are proving, such as by the Cabinet reorganisation in Britain which brought into leadership more democratic forces, that they are ready to understand and meet, on an equal and democratic basis, the needs and problems of the Italian nation. Salvation of Italy lies along the path of making, immediately, a separate peace with the United Nations.

B. Italian-Americans have strong ties with their homeland. They have a deep love for their relatives and blood-brothers in the "Old Country". Yet the overwhelming majority of the Italian-Americans are staunchly loyal to the USA and the United Nations in their just war against Hitler, Mussolini and the Mikado. (Give regularly instances, actions, expressions, etc. of the patriotic sentiments and the activities of Italian-Americans throughout the country in support of our government's war effort).

This must give food for thought to Italians back in Italy. Millions of Italians came to the USA and found here liberty and democracy in action. Under the American Constitution and Bill of Rights, Italian-Americans and their fellow citizens enjoy the right to [redacted] improve the defects of democracy, which is a guarantee that democracy will grow and expand. Italians in this country have their Italian clubs and free press. They play an active and leading part in the political life of America, in the organized labor movement, in the political parties and cultural movements of their adopted country. They work side by side with other Americans, native and foreignborn, to make their democracy and their country better.

In Italy, their native land or the land of their parents, the Italian people have no free labor movement, they have no free

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government, they have not a single elected representative of the people in the councils of government. Here, in their adopted land, Italian-Americans participate freely and equally with all Americans in all phases of government and progressive action (Give instances on the number of Italian-Americans in Congress, in various national, state, and city branches of government and civic leadership, their role in the trade unions, in the arts, etc.). Italian-Americans have experienced democracy here in the USA and they are fighting side by side with their fellow-Americans to free the world from the fascist enemies of democracy.

9. Slogans that could be developed and used regularly: CONCLUDE A SEPARATE PEACE. FREE ITALY FROM NAZI BONDAGE. SAVE ITALY BY MAKING HER FREE, INDEPENDENT AND AT PEACE WITH THE UNITED NATIONS. BREAK MUSSOLINI'S ALLIANCE WITH HITLER. SAVE ITALY WHILE THERE IS STILL TIME. OVERTHROW MUSSOLINI, CIANO AND COMPANY - THE VASSALS AND PUPPETS OF HITLER. MAKE ITALY A FREE AND INDEPENDENT NATION AMONG FREE AND EQUAL SOVEREIGN NATIONS. SAVE ITALY FROM DISASTER, FROM MUSSOLINI'S TREACHERY FROM HITLER'S RULE. WEAKEN THE HITLER WAR MACHINE. RESIST THE CONFISCATION OF ITALIAN FOODS AND MATERIALS FOR HITLER'S WAR AGAINST THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONS. JOIN THE GREAT SECRET "ARMY" OF ANTI-FASCIST SABOTEURS AND RESISTERS THAT ARE FIGHTING SO HEROICALLY IN FRANCE, NORWAY, JUGOSLAVIA, ETC.

JOIN HANDS WITH YOUR FRIENDS IN AMERICA AND THE OTHER UNITED NATIONS FOR INDEPENDENCE AND DEMOCRACY. IN THE SPIRIT OF GARIBALDI AND MAZZINI - FOR A FREE AND INDEPENDENT ITALY. JOIN HANDS WITH YOUR BROTHERS - ITALIAN-AMERICANS IN THE USA - AND SAVE ITALY FROM THE BROWN SHIRTS OF HITLER AND THE BLACKSHIRTS OF MUSSOLINI.

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To: Col. E. Buxton  
Subject: Memo on St. Patrick's Day

March 3, 1942

Although the time is short, something should be done by the government in connection with the St. Patrick's Day celebrations on March 17th this year, especially to counteract the influence and propaganda of the Coughlinites, the Christian Fronters and other pro-Nazi groups who ~~are~~ are very active amongst the Irish-Americans. Among other things, the following suggestions might be undertaken in the two weeks ahead:

- 1) A series of special radio broadcasts directed towards mobilizing the Irish-Americans for the national war effort should be planned for the evening of March 16th and during the day and evening of March 17th. It would be very effective if a number of prominent Irish-Americans like Farley, Flynn, Al Smith, Mahoney, as well as several trade union leaders, were to appear on the radio programs and deal with the role and responsibilities of the Irish-Americans in helping win the just war of America and the United Nations, as well as show Ireland's stake in the anti-Axis war. At least one program should be on a national radio hook-up and short-wave to Ireland.
- 2) If someone in, or representing, the Administration were to approach the key people in the Irish-American Defense Association, it would be possible to get a statement circulated among the most influential Irish-American leaders in this country in time to release for the press on St. Patrick's Day. Such a statement could and should not only give full and wholehearted support to our Government's war program and policy, but could and should sharply disown the pro-fascist Coughlinites and Christian Fronters who desecrate and dare to speak in the name of the Americans of Irish extraction. Also it could and should deal with Ireland's stake in the war, and show concretely how Ireland's fate is inextricably bound up with that of all of the United Nations. Such a statement, if properly worded, if wired to a few hundred prominent Irish-American citizens for their endorsement, and if properly released to the national press, would facilitate the activation of wider sections of the Irish-American people in support of our government and national objectives.

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COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
NEW YORK

21 East 40th Street

February 20, 1942

PERSONAL  
MESSAGE

Colonel Wm. J. Donovan  
Coordinator of Information  
25th and K Streets  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Colonel Donovan:

I spent two hours this morning with Mr. "Kelly". We have now established a liaison which does not require us to go through Major Wolf. He calls me as Kelly at this office or at the Hotel. I have his private telephone where I am to ask for him under his first name and tell his secretary that Kelly is calling.

He has given me considerable material, part of which I enclose herewith; namely:

1. "Pro-Nazi Hungarian Agents and Groups Active in the U.S.A."
2. "Notes on some leading Italian Fascist Agents now active in the United States".

He tells me that this Italian group is a very "hot" group and that they constitute the real inside boys.

So far as the Hungarians are concerned, you will note that he stamps Horthy as Horthy's personal emissary. This corresponds exactly with the statements made by other liberal Hungarians, Dr. Vanneray and others, here in New York. "Kelly" thinks that the Hungarians are playing it both ways. If Hitler wins Horthy is his ally. If the democracies win Horthy proposes to be the white haired boy with this Government and the British. He characterizes their tactics as very clever.

Now are you going to handle the names in these two groups and have them given the serious attention which I am sure they deserve, at the same time withholding the source which you must certainly do. It seems to me better that you should handle it with Mr.

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Hoover or a Washington representative than to have me handle it with Sam Foxworth because I think it is better protection for "Kelly".

(this report not 3. A 43 page study entitled "Memo on  
enclosed) Negro people in the war".

"Kelly's" own comment on this report is that it was made up by one of his assistants (white man) in collaboration with some Negro leaders and since neither his assistant nor any of the others know the purpose for which the report was intended it contains a good deal of unnecessary propaganda. He emphasized, however, Pages Nos. 10 and 12 containing the names of a group of Negro leaders who are either pro-Hitler, pro-Japanese or Trotskyites or fellow travelers of J. Lovestone.

The 43rd page contains a list of recommendations calculated to remove Negro resentment.

I am going to hold this report until I have read it myself before bringing it down to you next Monday night. It does not require instant attention.

In our prolonged conversation some of the important topics discussed follow:

1. Through a "friend of a friend" one of "Kelly's" assistant was brought in contact with a Mr. Blumenthal, who spoke for the Rockefeller Committee asserting that he did so with the authority of Mr. Nelson Rockefeller and his assistant, Mr. Harrison. Blumenthal stated that he was the liaison officer between the Rockefeller Committee and the Donovan Organization and the Army and Navy. He said that his people had discussed possible collaboration with "Kelly's" group with some other Governmental agencies and had been advised to have no known collaborating relationship but to obtain from "Kelly's" people any information that was offered. "Kelly" says that he has held up this negotiation and will refuse to renew it until he is told by me that Blumenthal is that he says he is; namely, liaison officer of the Rockefeller Committee and that thereafter he will not give information unless he receives more dependable assurances that Mr. Rockefeller, himself, and Mr. Harrison both know and approve of Mr. Blumenthal's work on behalf of the Committee with the "Kelly" people.  
Can you tell me anything about Blumenthal?

II. "Kelly" believes that the imminent

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visit of the Mexican Labor Leader, Taludano, is a matter of great importance. Taludano is Chairman of the Confederated Latin American Trade Unions covering all countries south of the Rio Grande. He has been in close touch with the Rockefeller Committee. "Kelly" says Taludano can play a role in fighting this war more important than a thousand Rockefeller Committees. He thinks that, if possible, you should meet Taludano and talk with him. If this is impossible because of the Rockefeller directive, in any event "Kelly" believes that it would be extremely helpful in several South American countries, notably Argentina, if the President could talk with Taludano for only five minutes. If the President is, for any reason, unable to do this "Kelly" hopes the Vice President will show Taludano some attention.

"Kelly" states there are approximately 50,000 Filipinos on the Pacific Coast. He believes it would be very good propaganda in the Philippines if a Filipino Regiment were formed from this West Coast group and trained for guerrilla warfare in the Philippines or adjacent areas. If such a regiment is formed "Kelly" would like to recommend some of the people to conduct this proposed guerrilla enterprise and would pick specially qualified men from the hundreds of trade unionists known to him on the West Coast among the Filipinos. He says that organizing the anti-Japanese Filipinos here would also be helpful in dealing with the Sakdalists, a native Filipino Fascist Organization. "Kelly" feels that the broadcast to the Philippines should include some trade unionists known to the Filipinos. He thinks a mistake is made by relying on people like Ex-Senator Hayes (known to him chiefly as a prominent tariff advocate) and Senator Tydings. "Kelly" thinks, if we dare to do it, we would do ourselves a lot of good with a certain element in the Philippines by bringing before the microphone someone like Harrison George, editor of "All Peoples World" who has spent several years in the Philippines and is well known there. He is a Communist. "Kelly" also recommends as a broadcaster to the Philippines Edgar Snow, author of "Red Star over China" and foreign correspondent of the London Daily Herald (English Labor Party).

4. He states that very cordial relations now exist between Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and the Communist element in the Chinese Army. He says that Chiang, himself, always got along well enough with this element but that the trouble existed between the Communists and some of the other war lords and politicians.

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5. "Kelly" believes the appointment of Cripps would be politically very helpful to Churchill. "Kelly" expressed the opinion that nobody on his side of the fence wanted anyone to replace Churchill as the top leader. He said they respected him not only for his eloquence but regarded him as a patriot and a man of ability.

"Kelly" is now willing to tell me more about himself. In addition to handling all Latin American relations he has recently been put in charge of their legislative program and also made director of election activities. He has recently talked with one of his people from the North and has sent a strong letter into that territory. This he does not regard as nearly as effective as a personal visit but he seems reconciled to my statement that we are unable to arrange such a visit at present.

We parted with the understanding that either of us will call the other whenever it is desirable to do so.

Sincerely yours,

*Ed.*  
Edward Burton

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COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

XEROXED COPY

NEW YORK

~~SECRET~~

February 20, 1942

Colonel Wm. J. Donovan  
Coordinator of Information  
25th and E Streets  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Colonel Donovan:

Yesterday afternoon I telephoned Lieut. Commander Ringle, head of ONI in Los Angeles, and asked him for his opinion on the Japanese-American situation in California. It was my feeling that we should check with some highly responsible person the strong criticism voiced by General Van Denam's memorandum.

Commander Ringle emphatically disapproves of the policy espoused by Mr. Biddle and various public interests on the West Coast. He has reported his opinions fully to his superiors. He thinks we are about to create dangers where little exist, that we will make enemies out of 135,000 people, 90% of whom in his opinion are now our friends. He believes that 135,000,000 people are getting hysterical about the presence of 135,000 - ratio one to one thousand. He says there are 6000 men of Japanese extraction today in the American Army. He believes this 6000 to be overwhelmingly loyal to us. He doubts if they will continue to be loyal when they have news that "Pa" has been thrown into a pen East of Colorado and American headlines have broken the windows of the family cottage and torn up the vegetable garden.

He told me something that happened yesterday morning not far from Los Angeles. A sixteen year old Japanese-American boy told his father that he wanted to enlist in the American army and fight for the United States. The father beat the boy severely who thereupon went to the Police Station and reported the facts leading to the assault, stating that his father had a revolver buried in the back yard and was constantly expressing opinions hostile to the United States. The father is now in jail but Ringle wonders what will happen to this boy. Furthermore, we are raising a race issue which might eventually cost us half a million lives. If the mob spirit becomes triumphant the Chinese will shortly be "yellow bellies" and the doctrine will find expression that only those with a white skin are permitted to call themselves Americans.

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Colonel Wm.J.Donovan

February 20, 1942

Some of my Cape Verdian friends have already found prejudice against them because of color and we have, of course, twelve million black and brown men in this country in addition to our Orientals.

My Chinese friends in New York tell me confidentially, because they do not dare tell me officially, that when General Wavell refused the proffered use of veteran Chinese infantry many weeks ago (and I am now talking about a large army and not the handful that came down the Burma Road) the reason for the refusal was well understood -- the white man's prestige in Burma must not suffer the consequences of receiving military aid from Chinese natives. If this was really the reason for General Wavell's action I fear he did not profit as a disciple of General Allenby.

This all leads me to the melancholy possibility that if we cannot control the color issue at this time in our history then Mr.Churchill was mistaken in his contention that two thirds of the human race are on our sides; the largest element of the two thirds being 800,000,000 Indians and 400,000,000 Chinese.

It is hard for me to avoid some bitterness over a report just received from Tokie Scoum in Los Angeles telling me he has been discharged from his little Civil Service clerical position in the Municipal Government and expects to be interned somewhere East of Colorado. He was a damn fine Sergeant Major in the Third Battalion of my Regiment. He is now Chairman of the Japanese-American Anti-Axis Committee in Los Angeles. His brother was killed in the last war fighting in a Canadian Regiment.

We told our battalions some twenty-five years ago that Americanism was not a matter of inheritance or of blood. Each citizen must prove an individual right to the title in each generation. If ancestors had been well, the fact was important only if descendants didn't let 'em down. We said that the whole

-3-

Colonel Wm.J.Danovan

February 20, 1942

business came down to the convictions in a man's mind and heart. We, each of us, had to prove in our own right the validity of our title. Therefore, if anyone had been on the American dock, at least five minutes, and understood the meaning of this brotherhood of the spirit, and cared enough for our liberties and our institutions to make a good citizen in peace and die for their preservation if necessary in war - that person was an American. I asked the 328th Infantry long ago, if it would accept that definition and they took it with a sea of arms and a great shout - York who was the ninth American generation and Sergeant Heimle who was born in Germany - and Toki Slocum who was born in Japan and who was shot at for the United States and who was made a citizen by an Act of Congress.

Sincerely yours,

*Ald.*  
G. Edward Burton

GMB PS

POUCH

SHOWER.

P.S. I believe that there should be set up in each community where there are Japs, a judicial tribunal before which the FBI and Police can appear. This Court should receive testimony from responsible witnesses, public officials and neighbors and enable the Court to give some badge or certificate to Japs of known loyalty. Such people should not be disturbed if there is any reasonable doubt whatever of saving them out.

*Buxley* 477  
*Dale Harton*

## COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NEW YORK

21 East 40th Street

March 20, 1942

CONFIDENTIAL

Colonel Wm.J.Donovan  
 Coordinator of Information  
 25th and M Streets  
 Washington, D.C.

Dear Colonel Donovan:

After reflection I submit that we should be carefully fortified with our reasons when we ask the Army and/or Navy to let me into Dutch Harbor. This seems to raise a new issue. Dutch Harbor is neither a foreign country nor, as I understand it, an open port for any friendly citizen. I assume it is an isolated island military and naval base. Therefore, to avoid having to argue that I am better qualified than Army or Navy intelligence sections to observe the facts and estimate the situation why not short cut the proceedings by asking the President if he would like an independent observation for whatever it may be worth from someone who might be described as bald from a combination of tin hats and worry and old enough to have made mistakes that younger men have not yet encountered. It would, at least, be a report uncowed by any higher echelons. If the President was at all interested in the idea he could arm us with a memorandum stating he had asked that I be sent there and given access to any pertinent facts.

A possible criticism of this suggestion is that this antagonizes the two Services and that the same result might be accomplished by a little smiling tact. I have in mind, however, that General DeWitt commands from Dutch Harbor to Mexico and that our blandishments might be unavailing unless he is confronted with a fait accompli from the highest authority. Possibly General Smith could ask you to make a general independent report for the C-2 sections. However, this is accomplished I would like to talk with Governor Gruening (if that is his name) next Tuesday. Perhaps Jimmy Murphy would be kind enough to arrange such an appointment for sometime Tuesday afternoon at the Governor's convenience.

-2-

Colonel Wm. J. Donovan

March 26, 1942

I think I should acquire some pocket maps of the area and a book or two on the terrain; the outstanding economic, military and naval factors present in the Aleutian Islands area. I probably could be referred to such literature by R and A or Governor Gruening.

I assume that there will be time enough to arrange transportation priorities on a commercial plane from Seattle to Sitka and Juneau when I arrive in Washington next Tuesday morning from New York.

I have been told that the southern areas of the Bering Sea including the Islands are heavily banked with fog in the Spring of the year. It occurs to me this might result in unavoidable delays if traveling by plane and in that contingency it would be useful to have the backing of the Navy which very likely has some destroyer or other naval vessel activity between Sitka and Dutch Harbor.

Unless you have information that Portland, Oregon is particularly important I am wondering if you want, at this time, to set up representatives at more than the following points:

Los Angeles  
San Francisco  
Seattle - and say  
Juneau

I am raising these points in advance so that you can give me your decision when I report to you Tuesday morning at the office.

Most sincerely

*Ned*  
G. Edward Buxton

GEO M.  
BUXTON.

P.S. In trying to find a real justification for going into Dutch Harbor it would seem to me that the best

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Colonel Wm.J.Donovan

March 20, 1942

Reasons are those which we could never use as an argument in talking with the Services; namely, that if people on the ground are covering up or if the Services are not cooperating or if any of the elements of a Pearl Harbor are present and there is any chance of a casual person of reasonable intelligence noticing it the trip would be amply justified. For example, it turned out that Mauryan's trip to the Near East justified itself because of his estimate of the general facts.

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## OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

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## INTEROFFICE MEMO

DATE: 18 September 1944.

TO: General Devers

FROM: Balkan Section, NSA, via Dr. William H. Langley

SUBJECT: Background of Bulgarian Fatherland Front

1. The following is submitted in response to a request for clarification of GS Official Dispatch #607, Cairo, 15 September 1944.

2. The text of the cable is evidently garbled. In line 2, "that" should read "Fatherland front." In line 3, "Military police" should read "Military League." In the same line, the sentence beginning "All of the factions making up" should read: "All of the factions making up the Fatherland Front are represented in the cabinet, known, the Communists, the leftist Agrarians and the Social Democrats, consequently most of the anti-German opposition."

3. The Bulgarian Fatherland Front, consisting of the "Tremo" political group, the Communists, the Pravde (left) Agrarians, the Social Democrats, and elements of other political parties, became prevalent as an anti-German force after the German occupation of Bulgaria in March 1941. The Fatherland Front has been particularly active during the past few months, having been powerfully encouraged by allied and Russian military successes and the withdrawal of German combat troops from Bulgaria's Black Sea ports of Varna and Burgas.

4. Through the close association between the Tremo group and the Military League (the latter is composed of high-ranking acting army officers who were aware of the strong pro-Russian feelings of the average Bulgarian soldier), the Fatherland Front was able to win over the major portion of the army and to put through its bloodless coup d'etat of 9 September 1944. The forces which marched on Sofia ten days ago and brought the present government into power were led by Colonel (now Major General) Valerian Velchev, the leader of the Tremo group and a man with a strong influence in army officer circles. Velchev's close associate of many years, Colonel (retired) Kicho Georgiev became Prime Minister. In other Tremo men were included in the cabinet, which also included representatives of the Communists, the Plamen Agrarians, the Social Democrats, and the Democrats.

5. The Tremo group in the past has been conservative and ratheritarian in internal policy, and anti-Italian, anti-German, and in favor of close cooperation with the other South Slavs. The Democrats were a middle-of-the-road, bourgeois party, favoring good relations with Russia but even more strongly inclined toward the Western Allies.

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To General Donovan from Balkan Section, DIA - p. 2      18 Sept. 1944

6. The accompanying copy of the Balkan Section's regular weekly  
~~Situation Report~~ contains additional background information on pages  
3-6.

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## OFFICE OF INTELLIGENCE SERVICES

Intelligence and Analysis Branch

Ref. No. 1175.77

16 September 1944

Situation Report: Balkans

Analysis of Current Intelligence for the Use of OSS

Page

Summary

Albania: The LNC's foreign connections have been strengthened by the arrival of Partisan and Iranian military representatives at LNC headquarters. -- Stringent measures have been imposed by the German command in Albania.

Bulgaria: The new Georgiev regime has moved rapidly to seek an armistice with the USSR, liberalize domestic administration, and repel German attacks.

Greece: The internal situation remains tense, and competent observers fear that Greece stands on the brink of a bitter civil war. SAM leaders are fearful over what they regard as British partiality toward the EDES. -- The existing Security battalions are carrying out severe measures in anticipation of German withdrawal.

Romania: The Moscow agreement of 12 September covers some of the ground usually reserved for the final peace treaty. Bucharest is likely to view the Russian-imposed terms as unfriendly. -- Friction has risen over the actions of Soviet military men in Rumania.

Yugoslavia: The progress of Russian forces in the Balkans has apparently produced in Marshal Tito an attitude of increasing independence with respect to the British. -- Kostititch, vice-president of the Croatian Peasant Party, has gone over to the partisans.

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ALBANIA

1. SOURCE: DEVELOPMENTS

LNC foreign relations. The LNC's foreign connections have recently been strengthened. As of 8 September, it is reported to have one a colonel and six other officers as military liaison to the LNC. According to a report of 20 August, Fadil Xoxha, alias "Fitter," leader of the mixed Yugoslav and Albanian Kos-Met staff operating under Fito's orders, has conferred with the 1st LNC Division in north central Albania. As previously reported, Yugoslav officers have recently arrived at Fadil Xoxha's headquarters.<sup>3</sup>

The LNC has maintained connections with neighboring partisan groups since its early days. General Vukmanovic, alias "Ivanov," Fito's commander in Macedonia, and liaison officers from the Greek EAM and the Macedonian partisans have been sent to visit the LNC. There is even some indication that Yugoslav representatives were partially instrumental in the original formation of the movement. A Yugoslav called "Sif" or "Dushan" was reportedly a member of the LNC Central Council before the reorganization in May 1944. This is the first time, however, that the LNC has received an accredited Yugoslav military mission.

It has been suggested that Fito's immediate purpose is to win LNC support for operations in the Kosovo area and, possibly, for operations against Milivojevic in that general vicinity.<sup>4</sup> The report that Kos-Met leader Fadil Xoxha has conferred with the LNC 1st Division would bear out this suggestion. Since one of the chief aims behind the LNC's advance into northern Albania had apparently been to join forces with the Kos-Met partisans and Tito,<sup>5</sup> there now appears to be a strong possibility of closer Yugoslav-Albanian cooperation.

Except that their presence is indicative of the increasingly close relations between Yugoslav and Balkan left-wing resistance groups,<sup>6</sup> the position of the Yugoslav officers now at LNC headquarters has not yet been clarified. In conversation<sup>7</sup> with an American observer, one of them said that they were sent for purposes of acquiring information

- 1. OSS 38502, 8 September 1944.
- 2. PICME, Balkan Political Intelligence Notes, 22 August 1944.
- 3. Situation Report: Balkans, 2 September 1944.
- 4. Cf. forthcoming S.A. Report No. 1661, "The role of communists in the Balkans."
- 5. OSS 38502, 8 September 1944.
- 6. "Situation Report: Balkans," 20 August 1944.
- 7. "Situation Report: Balkans," 2 October 1944.

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on Albanian, and because Serbia was anxious to wipe out a similar all over Europe. The Russian group is said to have some full and connections with Kosovo and Bari. Meanwhile, LNC relations with the British have been smoothed over, following Major Hoxha's retraction of his threat to British liaison officers attached to Abas Kupi. The possibility of temporarily withdrawing Tito's BLC's for consultation on allied policy was not mentioned in the conversations with Hoxha.<sup>2</sup> If relations continue to be amicable, the LNC's demands will presumably be given greater consideration. These have included a request to make available Albanian assets in Rome available to the LNC,<sup>3</sup> and a request for food supplies.<sup>4</sup>

**2. The German SS takes over:** The installation of the Blaku government has been accompanied by stringent measures on the part of the German command in Albania. The SS commander in Albania has apparently been given high military and political duties, possibly as a result of a reported visit to Tirana in mid-August of Field Marshal von Weichs, Commander of the Army Group Southeast. Several German officers are reported to have been arrested on political charges.<sup>5</sup> On 3 August the town of Valona was surrounded by the SS, with the apparent intention of rounding up "dangerous elements," prominent among whom was Skender Muco, Valona leader of the nationalist (and hitherto mainly collaborationist) Balli Komiteti, who has shown pro-Ally tendencies. Muco and two other BK leaders at first escaped but were later assassinated.<sup>6</sup> In the annexed Kosovo area, where the prominent nationalist Jani Bey Kryeziu continues his actions against the Germans, a number of people have been killed, whole villages have been burned, and the prefect of Prichtina has been arrested because he did not enforce recruitment for the German-led SS "Skanderbeg Division."<sup>7</sup> In Tirana, even the movements of government officials have been curtailed,<sup>8</sup> a restriction which may be connected with the death on 6 September of Lefter Kosova just a few hours after the announcement of his appointment as Minister of Public Works in the quailing government.<sup>9</sup>

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1. OSS 732558, 8 September 1944.
  2. Ibid.
  3. OSS source S, 20 August 1944.
  4. OSS source S, 20 August 1944.
  5. OSS source S, 23 August 1944.
  6. OSS source S, 25 August 1944.
  7. OSS source S, 26 August 1944.
  8. Radio Tirana, 9 September 1944 (Press Intelli. Cable).
  9. OSS source S, 11 September 1944.

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BULGARIA

## I. CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS

1. A week of the new regime: One of the first acts of the Georgiev government was the appointment of an armistice commission, which was to leave immediately for General Tolbukin's headquarters. Its members are Prof. Dimitar Mihalchev, Bulgaria's first minister to Soviet Russia and a well-known pro-Russian intellectual, Kyriil Stanchev, a reserve army major and close collaborator of Gen. Kiril Velchev, and Colonel Vladko L. Ganev of the Bulgarian General Staff. The commission is to seek to learn the final conditions for the Soviet army's ceasing of military activities against Bulgaria, to discuss conditions for an armistice and for a re-establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, as well as details of cooperation between Soviet and Bulgarian troops for expelling the enemy from Bulgaria.<sup>1</sup> No mention was made of any armistice negotiations between Bulgaria and the western Allies. Ankara reports of 10 September state that the Bulgarian armistice mission sent to Cairo by the Regency government and headed by Stoich-Mosharov had reached Istanbul on its way back to Sofia;<sup>2</sup> but, in his first interview with U.S., British, Swiss and Turkish newspaper correspondents, which took place in Sofia on the same day (10 September), Petko Stainov, Bulgaria's new Foreign Minister, intimated that his government has been unable to get into contact with Mosharov's delegation in Cairo, and that it was trying to send another delegation to the delegates. He also stated that the Bulgarian government was ready to send an armistice delegation at once to any appointed place but was awaiting "indications in this connection from the Allies."<sup>3</sup>

[ More details are now available on the events through which the government came to power. A Sofia broadcast quoted by Reuters in London tells of a "bloodless coup d'etat" on 9 September. The account states that pro-Russian elements, partisans and troops led by reserve colonel Damyan Velchev surrounded Sofia. Soon after midnight Velchev (who, since then, seems to have been promoted to major general in the active service) entered the Ministry of War and ordered the resignation and arrest of the Muraviev cabinet which was then in session.<sup>4</sup> The old regents (Prince Kiril, Gen. Mihov, and Prof. Filov) were dismissed and a new cabinet and regency council were appointed.<sup>5</sup> Two days later the cabinet was re-shuffled.

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1. FCC: Daily, 11 September 1944 (Bulgarian Home Service, 10 Sept.).
  2. N. Y. Times, 11 September 1944.
  3. FCC: Daily, 13 September 1944.
  4. FCC:icker, 15 September 1944.
  5. Situation Report: BALKANS, 11 September 1944.

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Anton Yugov became Minister of Interior; Radko Anelov Minister of Public Health; Grigor Cheshmedzhiev Minister of Social Affairs; Genko Cholakov Minister of Education, and Major General Totev Totev.<sup>1</sup> Chief of the People's Liberation Army, became Minister without portfolio.<sup>2</sup> As was anticipated,<sup>2</sup> several of these new men are Communists, including Yugov, who holds the key portfolio of the Interior. Nothing is known about him, and it is believed that the name is a cover name. The importance of Communist support to the continued stability of the regime is crucial. Possible excesses inspired by pro-Russian and Communist enthusiasts are believed to present the only present danger to the Government's position.<sup>3</sup>

Press reports that the Emergency has been abolished and that King Simeon II and his mother fled Bulgaria appear unfounded. According to Radio Sofia the new Regency Council reorganized the Queen to church on 14 September on the occasion of Simeon's name day.<sup>4</sup> While the Government may favor an eventual republic, it is clear that no drastic steps are being taken at least until the views of a Constituent assembly are available.

Minister of Propaganda, Dimo Kazanov, described the coming to power of the Fatherland Front Government as the events of the past week as "a new, inspired and enlightened revolution" which caused no bloodshed and no destruction.<sup>5</sup> The nature of this revolution is indicated by the words of Premier Georgiev: in the first 4½ hours of his term of office the old regents were removed, political rights and liberties were restored, the "terror of the preceding regime" was abolished, the freedom of the press is established, and "all those responsible for this catastrophe of Bulgaria" have been arrested.<sup>6</sup> In line with this, "in order to be punished by the People's court,"<sup>7</sup> numerous changes in personnel in key administrative positions have been made. Men of the Fatherland Front are replacing the appointees of former governments.<sup>8</sup> Extensive changes are also being made in Bulgaria's diplomatic personnel.<sup>9</sup>

In addition to these measures much publicity has been given over the Bulgarian radio to the local provisional Fatherland Front Committees, whose exact function and duties is not yet known, but in which the important component elements of the Fatherland Front, Communists, Agrarians, Zem, (and possibly Social Democrats and the Independent group) "must be equally represented under all circumstances."<sup>10</sup> The local committees are under the jurisdiction of the Provisional Central Fatherland Front Committee in Sofia.

- 1. FCC: Daily, 11 September 1944.
- 2. Situation Report: British, 9 September 1944.
- 3. OSS Istanbul Dispatch 120187, 15 September 1944.
- 4. FCC: Daily, 15 September 1944.
- 5. FCC: Daily, 14 September 1944.
- 6. FCC: Daily, 12 September 1944.
- 7. FCC: Daily, 14 September 1944.
- 8. FCC: Daily, 18 September 1944.

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The new government is also trying to secure the support of the former professional unions. Postal, railroad, and port workers, as well as chemists and employees of the numerous cooperatives and organized committees which are opposing to their work jobs for the support of the regime.<sup>1</sup>

No detailed program of the government's policy has yet been announced, but the program of the Agrarians is formulated by their leader, the Minister without portfolio, Nikola Tetsky, "without consideration since the Agrarians are probably stronger than any other political party in Bulgaria". In a speech broadcast from Sofia Petkov outlined the following points: fraternal and "eternal" friendship with the brother Balkan nation; "sincere friendship with the western democracies and American close understanding between Bulgaria and Britain"; complete reest. "liberation of the people's freedoms"; transformation of Bulgaria "into a true democratic free and independent state; complete democratization of culture and education; complete democratization of the army... construction of a system of planned national economy, free from speculation, robbery, and exploitation, and collective cooperative cultivation of the land; creation of one and just system of taxation; nationalization of natural resources; introduction of a credit basis, and a people's court for all who robbed, oppressed, tortured, and maltreated the Bulgarian people and for those who declared war and brought the country vis-a-vis new catastrophes."<sup>2</sup> The foreign policy of the Agrarians, as expected, is pro-German, proally and anti-Serbian and favors close Balkan cooperation. The economic provisions contain nothing revolutionary; there is no mention of the ownership of the means of production, or of common ownership of land. The stress placed in the "collective cooperative cultivation of the land" represents no departure from the policy of many previous Bulgarian governments.

The new government clearly also desires as soon as possible to establish cordial relations with the Yugoslav Partisans. Georgiev and Velchev have sent messages to Tito hailing him as a collaborator and offering assistance in the war against Germany.<sup>3</sup> No reaction to this has yet come from Tito's camp. A Tito communiqué which reports fighting between the Partisans and the Bulgarian divisions is probably indicative of the fact that elements of the Bulgarian army may still be loyal to pro-German commanders and may, therefore, still be fighting on Germany's side.<sup>4</sup>

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- 1. FCG: Daily, 12 September 1944.
  - 2. FCG: Daily, 14 September 1944.
  - 3. FCG: Daily, 13 September 1944.
  - 4. N.Y. Times: 13 September 1944.

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as might have been expected, Berlin has withdrawn its army from Bulgaria and attack on the Georgiev Government had been broken off. The Bulgarian government, headed by the Social Democratic and the Bulgarian Government under Alexander Stankov. It is reported that about 17 Bulgarian fascists fled to Germany. Stankov is prime minister and Minister of War, Affairs. Other members of the cabinet are his son-in-law, Colonel Kostadinov, and Dimitar Statev.<sup>1</sup>

In the meantime German forces along the Danube and in parts of Macedonia are continuing their advance fighting against the Bulgarian army. The first news came October of the Bulgarian High Command, self of General Bertrand, Major General Minister Velchev, nor the Bulgarian Supreme Commander General Marinov underestimate the seriousness of the situation. The government is stressing the necessity of discipline, and is attempting to unite the army, the members of the former underground, and a so-called people's militia.<sup>2</sup> In places, Bulgaria's eastern frontier is less than 3 miles from Sofia and it seems likely that the present government will make every effort to prevent the re-occupation of the capital by the Germans. Tolbukin's forces in Bulgaria is not known but it appears that he has not yet entered Sofia in force.<sup>3</sup>

2. American airmen interned in Bulgaria arrive in Istanbul:  
On 11 September there arrived in Istanbul aboard a special train from Bulgaria 36 Americans, 28 British subjects, 2 Dutch subjects 1 Pole, and 5 Italians. Practically all of the Americans are air force personnel. Forty-five of the total number of the repatriated allied men were placed in hospitals while the rest were quartered on two ships awaiting final arrangements for their trip to Cairo.<sup>4</sup> Apparently no difficulties were encountered in arranging the transfer of the American airmen to Istanbul, since even the Muraviev government had expressed readiness to release our men before the signing of an armistice with Bulgaria.

1. FCC: Daily, 15 September 1944; 13 September 1944.
2. Ibid, 12 September 1944; 13 September 1944.
3. FCC: Daily, 11 September 1944.
4. FCC: Daily, 14 September 1944.
5. OSS A30787, 11 September 1944.

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~~SECRET~~GREECE

## I. CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS

1. Danger of civil war in Greece: Although superficial unity in the government-in-exile has been attained, the situation inside Greece remains tense, and competent observers still fear that Greece stands on the brink of an unprecedentedly bitter civil war.

The British are suspicious of the EAM's intentions, and have decided to deliver no further equipment to the ELAS guerrillas. An OSS office reports that the British hostility to the EAM will bring complications when the time comes for the British to occupy Greece. He believes that the ELAS leaders, resentful of the treatment they have received at the hands of the British, may take the initiative in starting hostilities against the EDGS and the quisling-led Security battalions.<sup>1</sup> Bloody battles between the EAM-ELAS and the quisling troops in Athens and elsewhere have been frequently reported.<sup>2</sup> Similar clashes between the EAM and the EDGS are not uncommon.

These conflicts, and those which seem now to be imminent, are presumably to be explained by the EAM's anxiety to protect its political interests against the threat of what the Greeks are convinced is a British-sponsored EDGS-quisling conspiracy to wrest power from the EAM, and thus to foist the monarchy upon the Greek people. The situation is aggravated by the desperate shortage of food. The Swedish-Swiss Commission charges that the EAM is urging the people to pillage the Commission's warehouses. EAM propaganda of this sort, it is complained, hampers the work of the Commission.<sup>3</sup>

EAM leaders are distressed because the British Foreign Office chooses to ignore their recent successes against the Germans, and are angry over the British failure to give them arms or assistance. They are especially displeased that the EDGS continues to receive British shipments of approximately 200 tons of supplies monthly, which, the ELAS claims, are to be used to fulfil the EDGS program (drafted in April or May of this year) of liquidating the EAM.<sup>4</sup> A seemingly well-informed refugee from Greece believes that a real "slow-down" between the EAM and the EDGS can be expected to take place in the near future.<sup>5</sup> In this connection it is perhaps significant that George Plastiras (brother of Nicholas Plastiras, the titular head of the EDGS) has at this late date transferred his allegiance from the EDGS to the EAM.<sup>6</sup>

1. OSS 138727, 11 September 1944.
2. OSS Source S, 7 September 1944.
3. OSS 138400, 7 September 1944.
4. OSS Source S, 10 August 1944.
5. Ibid., 7 September 1944.
6. TIR., 5 September 1944.

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The EAM is thought to be so determined to terminate hostilities as British interference in Greek politics that it will not hesitate to fire upon British troops, and even to carry on guerrilla warfare against the British.<sup>1</sup> OSS sources doubt that the British forces earmarked for duty in Greece will be adequate to cope with a crisis of this kind, and are apprehensive of widespread disorder.<sup>2</sup> Impartial American observers are of the opinion that the tension has been heightened by Papandreu's persistent refusal to condemn the Security Battalions, and that both the recent British denunciation of these quisling troops,<sup>3</sup> and Papandreu's latest appeal for unity have come too late to avert civil war. It should be noted that, although the Security Battalions managed to recruit only a few hundred adherents during the premiership of Tsouderos, who periodically denounced them on the Cairo Radio, these quisling forces are now estimated to have enrolled almost 10,000 men, most of whom were recruited during the administration of Papandreu.

Partly because of the delicacy of the situation, but chiefly because only sixty-three U.S. officers will participate in the occupation of Greece--and then only to aid in the administration of relief and rehabilitation--the U.S. has indicated that it is unwilling to allow the Greco-British units which are to occupy Greece to be described as "Allied" forces. The British have expressed their disappointment at this decision, and have requested that the U.S. does inform the Greek Government on this matter, as the British would be embarrassed to do so.<sup>4</sup>

It is felt in informed quarters that the tenseness of the domestic Greek situation will not be greatly affected by the entry (2 September 1944) of EAM delegates into the Cabinet. The EAM now holds the following portfolios: Finance (Svilos, with Angelopoulos as Under Minister), Communications (Asoutsis), National Economy (Tairimokos), Labor (Porphyrgorinis), and Agriculture (Zevlos).<sup>5</sup> When these ministers arrived in Cairo (31 August) they learned for the first time of the resignation of Venizelos, Rylomas, and Kantis. Though disconcerted by this development, they decided to join the Cabinet, in the hope that they might thus prevent the outbreak of civil war.<sup>6</sup>

The EAM consented to the transfer of the government to Nafplio, although it did so with misgivings. It fears that the change will delay necessary planning, and that it will strengthen the hand of Zervas's MEL (whose territories in Epirus are most likely to be the first to welcome the return of the Greek Government to Greece). The

1. OSS Source 3, 13 September 1944.
2. OSS 30727, 11 September 1944.
3. Situation Report: BALKANS, 9 September 1944.
4. N.Y. Times, 15 September 1944.
5. OSS TEC 101, 10 September 1944.
6. OSS Cairo wire 281, 2 September 1944.
7. OSS 53581, 2 September 1944.
8. Ibid., 2 September 1944.

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gencies. If I have once participated in Italy, they will be compelled to isolate from Greek opinion,<sup>1</sup> to which they look for support in their struggle against opposite forces inside and outside the Government. They have not yet given any indication of their attitude at the present moment of Prince Paul as regent (31 August 1941),<sup>2</sup> nor do they intend taking the oath of office they had expressly renounced in connection with the arrival of allegiance to the Crown.<sup>3</sup> A number of them, however, have already reached Italy by air, other members of the Government having gone to Italy by sea.<sup>4</sup> The King, although personally in no position to do so, is being proposed that a resolution be passed in the name of the House of Representatives in the following terms:

2 The quislings and the German officers present in the German  
are said to be leaving troops from the border areas and it is to be expected  
that selected personnel are being evacuated, however, and that some  
are reported to be leaving 12,000 men to garrison Kienan and the  
Philippines. Ristis' departure, on behalf of the 1st Army, is  
for specific terms have been flatly rejected and the British  
and French, who have replied that acting as an independent force  
will be considered. Plans are said to be under way for the transfer of  
a high German officer to Allied HQ in order to facilitate  
Allied terms.

At the same time Galli's attempt to stir them up to a political position. He has issued non-partisan political calls to the people to maintain order until the British troops arrive, but Galli has repudiated that he and his associates will not cooperate with the British. He believes the political leaders in all the German states have joined him. Despite his appeal for cooperation, Galli is said to think recent events has made anything but confrontation. The Security measures have been strengthened to ferret out and execute the "class of 1914," and Galli and are apparently carrying out orders to do the same. In addition, he has been given full powers by President Roosevelt through the American Legation in Berlin to prohibit any scale armistice carried out by the Nazis. It is believed that Galli's intention is to embark upon a program of mass exactions in deportation to Germany. They also hope to conduct attacks of reprisals and air attacks upon German lines of communication in order to

1. GRS Cetra tree 281, 2 September 1965.
  2. GRS 34180, 1 September 1965.
  3. GRS 34181, 2 September 1965.
  4. GRS 34182, 3 September 1965.
  5. GRS 34183, 4 September 1965.
  6. GRS 34184, 7 September 1965.
  7. GRS Source 1, 1 September 1965; *Leptosphaeria*, 6 September 1965.
  8. GRS 34185, 7 September 1965.
  9. GRS Source 2, 7 September 1965.
  10. 1 AG.
  11. GRS 34186, 6 September 1965.

## ROMANIA

## I. CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS

1. The Armistice Terms The document signed at Moscow on 23 September 1944 goes further beyond the standard concept of an armistice. Article 1 covers some of the ground usually reserved for the final peace treaty, but only by virtue of this agreement signed three weeks after Germany, which becomes de jure a co-belligerent, has armed forces. Article 1 prescribes one or more military divisions are indoctrinated to the Soviet High Command. The other significant provision can be summarized as follows: 1. Guarancies. The annexation of the provinces of Basarabia and northern Bucovina by the USSR is confirmed, in accordance with the treaty of 28 June 1940. The recovery of a third of Transylvania from the Hungarians is guaranteed, although the way is left open to adjustment of the pre-1940 frontier. Until peace is concluded the Hungarian government will administer its territory, 30 to 100 km behind the front line, subject to instruction and directives issued by the Soviet High Command. 2. Expropriation and Reparations. In addition to restoring all property removed from Austrian territory, Hungary must surrender all military equipment, including ships formerly owned by Germany and its satellites, and must compensate property held by citizens of the United Nations before the war. In consideration of Romania's contribution in combat against Hitler, Bucharest waives part of the compensation for the damage done by American forces occupying Soviet territory, and fixes reparations at 50 million dollars per year for the next six years, payable in commodities. In addition, Bucharest will be required to defray the expenses of Soviet operations in the Romanian theater, as well as to repair and hand over transit oil currency is used in Romania by the Soviet High Command. Reparations claimed by citizens of the other United Nations are reserved for later settlement. 3. Political Control. The national government must abolish legislation directed against persons because of their racial origin or pro-United Nations activity, and will release those arrested under such decrees. It must also aid the Jewish authorities in the selection and trial of persons listed as war criminals. All pro-fascist groups and propaganda hostile to the USSR and its allies are banned. Control of the press, radio and publication of literature will be maintained in accordance with an agreement to be made with the Soviet High Command. 4. Central Commission. Representatives of the USA, the United States, and Great Britain, constituting an allied Central Commission, will take up residence in Bucharest, and may station their officers in any part of the country. This Commission will be empowered to see to the enforcement of the armistice terms and may delegate to specific functions to agencies established by it.

5. Venues of Broadcast, as monitored by FCC, 1. V. dated 16 November 1944  
CG, situation reports: BALKANS, 16 November 1944  
282082

It is significant that the signing of the armistice was delayed three days while the British representative checked his figures to insure that Rumania would be unable to meet her other demands. If the Soviet reparations claims were fixed at such a high sum, although there is no hint in the text of the armistice, it is likely that on this point, London presumably agreed to the 30 billion dollar figure with the understanding that ultimately the total sum of reparations paid by all enemy states would be proportionately divided among the several countries concerned. In particular, it is bound to be painfully conscious of the cumulative weight of these terms, the conditions will probably be viewed as unduly severe. In view of the losses sustained (the Rumanian army surplus, the timber of Bucovina, the ruined oil industry), and the highly uncertain future of Rumanian foreign trade, while the ice at arms of occupation establishes itself in a position of superior authority, the Rumanians will undoubtedly feel that the Anglo-Soviets are not being appreciated. Commenting on the armistice, a *Traffic* editorial (11 September) urges of the bitter lesson which Rumania has learned, trusting that "this will ensure the necessary prerequisites for the establishment of normal relations" between the two states.<sup>2</sup> The *Yugoslav* involved in this statement would seem to indicate that Moscow views the course of rapprochement with Rumania in an essentially untilled field.

**3. Russo-Rumanian friction:** As was shown in last week's report, Soviet military men in Rumania have seen fit to take over the custody of important personalities interned by the Bucharest regime, subject to the objections raised by high Rumanian officials.<sup>3</sup> The repetition of this procedure a fortnight ago prompted the Rumanian minister of war to submit a protest in behalf of his government to the American representative on 6 September. According to this message, on 2 September Col. Peter Savchenko, commanding the 3rd Arm., threatening to use force compelled the Rumanians to deliver up to him four generals and an admiral formerly attached to the German legation at Bucharest. These officers, it is stated, were entitled to diplomatic immunity as members of a military mission, in accordance with an agreement between the two governments concerning the exchange of diplomatic staff. The following day another Rumanian general proceeded to the building in which civilian German diplomats had been housed and replaced the Rumanian guards with Russians, on the ground that the Germans were not adequately guarded.<sup>4</sup>

Bucharest states further that the Rumanian army's deficiency in equipment for the reinforcements needed in Transylvania has been aggravated by requests for uniforms and material made by the Yugoslavs.

1. *See* RDP13X00001R000100010005-8.

2. *PCG*, *Yugoslav*, 14 September 1944.

3. *Information Reports*, BULGANS, 11 September 1944.

4. Ankara wire 1682, 7 Oct. 1944, p. 1A.

REF ID: A6582

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military. In a note to the American ambassador at Bucharest, the Romanian government asks whether the Anglo-Americans are willing to examine the possibility of supplying the army with some of the necessary equipment. Bucharest is prepared to send a military delegation, to be later supplemented by a civilian representative, to discuss the question in London or elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> With the signing of the armistice, however, this matter will come within the jurisdiction of the Allied Control Commission at Bucharest.

While the Soviet communiques give Romanian troops credit for their share in the successful operations in Transylvania, an American officer who left Bucharest on 3 September reported that officials felt as insecure as ever. Their apprehensiveness was naturally heightened by the initiation of the requisitioning of motor vehicles by the Russian military.<sup>2</sup>

If one may believe a well-known correspondent, who spent last weekend with Maniu in Transylvania, until 12 September King Michael and his collaborators, including Maniu, lived in fear of being arrested by the Russians. This informant stated that the Russians were striving to discover the whereabouts of the men who ousted Antonescu, while this group was prepared to flee to Italy at short notice.<sup>3</sup>

**3. Americans in Romania:** Following the prompt evacuation to Italy of 1,126 American Air Corps men held as prisoners of war, there remain about 500 other Americans who are said to be in need of diplomatic care, pending the arrival of a legation staff.<sup>4</sup> While American interests are still entrusted to the Swiss legation, our citizens are said to have told the Swiss that they were anxious to know when American representatives would arrive to protect them against Russian demands.<sup>5</sup> No specific grievances against the Russians have been reported, and Washington is making efforts to enlist the good offices of the Swedish legation and other agencies on the scene in order to assist the Swiss during the transition period.<sup>6</sup>

While various reports indicate that the American prisoners mentioned above received reasonably good treatment, some of them complained of the unhygienic quarters, inadequate and unsatisfactory diet and medical treatment, as well as of brutal treatment. It would seem that the Romanian personnel became unfriendly during the intensive air attacks of last spring and summer, but recent events, particularly the German born king of the Royal Palace, have made the Romanian officials anxious to please Americans. So far we spared to liberate the imprisoned aviators and to facilitate their departure to Italy. Romanian officials also cooperated with an American mission which surveyed the bombing damage in the oil regions.<sup>7</sup>

- |  |                                   |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Ankara wire 1167, 7 Sept. 1944.                           | 5. OSS /98679, 17 Sept. 1944.     |
| 2. OSS 138493, 6 September 1944.                             | 6. Bern wire 15960, 9 Sept. 1944. |
| 3. OSS 138842, 12 Sept. 1944.                                | 7. OSS /38424, 6 Sept. 1944.      |
| 4. AF despatch from Italy, Herald Tribune, 2 September 1944. | 8. OSS 138493, 6 Sept. 1944.      |

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$\tau_s = 10^{-3} T = 3.9 \times 10^{-10}$  sec.

The British action at the American port which started by a naval force the arrival at New York of the first of the Commissioners for Foreign Affairs, Stephen and Lowry, the arrival of the British plenipotentiary at the British naval station of Halifax, the return of the American inspectors from Boston, the arrival of the British plenipotentiary at Boston, and the arrival of the commissioners.

which he had arrived in Italy, and to the underlings of the King, and of the nobles, who were the chief actors in the drama, was made the following statement: "I have been told that there is a difference in the definition of legal persons, or of natural persons. The former, I mean persons, are called by some authors, persons of law; but others call them persons of fact."

with the political policy of the Socialist Government of Tito. By Italy units of Partisan sympathizers and by placing in a civilian status those considered unfit because of physical condition, age, and political views.

The Royal Government also appears to be strengthening its political position in another field. Mr. Lino Arck, Yugoslav member of the Italian Advisory Council and ultra-conservative Slovene clerical who recently expressed his loyalty to Yugoslavia, has said that he is to be replaced by Mr. Josip Smoljan, Foreign Minister for the Partisan Government and the outstanding Yugoslav authority on Istria. Such a move by Dubcek, in the light of his speech of 14 September laying vigorous claim to Italian Istria, indicates the determination of the Royal Government and the British to continue to strengthen the liaison of the Royal and the non-Yugoslav elements.

2. Koshutich supports Tito: According to Stevan Grujicovich, returned last week from Tito's HQ on Vis, Koshutich, the Croatian Peasant Party vice-president, has gone over to the Partisans. His repudiation of Radec by his most influential source remaining unreported indicates that the right wing of the CPP is gradually disintegrating. But Koshutich and the groups of CPP leaders already identified with the Partisans (Majovats, Ilich, Sremets, etc.) will remain faithful to the ideological principles of the Radec brothers, peasant founders of the party, and still respect their President, Dr. Radec, despite frequent denunciations of Radec as a traitor.

An increasing number of CPP members have joined the Partisan movement as a result of its military successes. Some support the Partisans only as a military force, and remain non-committal on the Partisan political program. Others, like Tomashich, Permar, and Smoljan, have been attempting to align themselves with Titoilovich, in the hope that a front composed of Pavelich, Nedich, Ijotich, with Chetnik and Dombran troops could be formed after the collapse of Germany to check the advance of the Partisans.<sup>11</sup> However, the rapid Russian advance in the Balkans has prevented this formation of such a combine.

Aboard, the CPP relies on Premier Subasic, still a firm man. But Subasic is completely committed to the Partisan alliance, while Glenden Glino, for example, has on several occasions argued with Subasic in favor of closer ties with Titoilovich. Other CPP leaders criticize Subasic for his treatment of the Serbs, whom they believe should have a larger representation in the Royal Government. Although there are differences between the CPP leaders abroad, they have been careful to maintain the appearance of unity.<sup>12</sup>

1. CSC RUM 620, 8 September 1944.
2. N.Y. Times, 15 September 1944.
3. CSC TENTHC, 12 September 1944.
4. CSC TENTHC, Bari, 1 September 1944.
5. CSC TENTHC, Bari, 27 August 1944.

SACR P

Top ↑

ASS Form 4151

Date 9/20

To: General Donovan

On \_\_\_\_\_  
Car \_\_\_\_\_  
the \_\_\_\_\_  
Attached to your cable is  
material from Dr. Langer's office  
which will clarify the message.

E. J. Putzell Jr.

'n  
of

[E]

[Ex]

Office of the Executive Officer

- Form 69 (Revised) OSS

## OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

## OFFICIAL DISPATCH

DATE September 15, 1944

FROM

MACFARLAND, ISTANBUL

TO

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

PRIORITY
ROUTINE
DEFERRED

IM 20147

## DISTRIBUTION

(FOR ACTION)

(FOR INFORMATION)

R &amp; A

DEPUTY SECRETARY, VIGILANT, MGRDR,  
MVDTO

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16-3786-1

RECEIVED IN CODE OR CIPHER SECRET

#5607. RABAH. From Minor, <sup>Istanbul</sup> In reference to London's request to 109. To Washington, Cairo, and Schlesinger in London.  
 Istanbul-London #2067.

*should read "Fatherland"*

The authority enjoyed by the current Cabinet was gained as the result of a coup staged without violence by the Nazi front and probably with the wholehearted assistance of the Military police. All of the factions making up the home front Zveno are present in the Cabinet, Social Democrats, leftist Agrarians\* and Communists, consequently most of the Anti-German opposition. The Cabinet represents democratic ideals and possibly for a republic in the homeland; it also supports a firm and friendly relationship with the Soviet but independence from Russian domination and a Balkan Federation, maybe union with the Yugoslavs in Foreign affairs. This group has been active since 1941 and especially since June of this year. Consult D 1436 and 1492 for background material. The Army is willing to accept this government and it is likely that most of the civilian population will agree to it. Provided the opportunity arises, the Cabinet will effect the program it has made public. It can keep its authority only if the Communists support it faithfully. The most important threats to its rule are mob excesses, pro-German enthusiasm and Communist plotting. A powerful Communist tendency has been observed. Other signs are the organization of a citizens committee for crafts, trades government workers, etc. and the activity of the National Militia. There is no available material on the Communist Minister of Interior, Yugov, and his name is thought to be a cover. The rest of the Communist members are not well known, but Velchev, Kazasov and Georgiev of the Zveno, Stainov of the People's Party and Petkov of the Agrarians are well known figures.

\* Received as LGARIA'S.  
 TOR: 9/15/44 10:46 AM

BULGARIA

SECRET

FILE COPY  
IT IS FORBIDDEN TO COPY OR REPRODUCE THIS CABLE  
WITHOUT AUTHORIZATION FROM THE SECRETARIAT

Top ↑

OSS Form 4001  
(Rev. 7/27/44)

OSS SECRETARIAT - ROUTE SLIP

DATE

TO	NAME	INITIALS
	O. C. Pecking, Jr.	
	J. J. Monigan	
	E. J. Putzell, Jr.	P
	R. Thrus	
	P. G. Levy	
	J. W. Archibald	
	V. P. Kuglak	
	V. H. Wiley	
	F. V. Pagliano	
	A. V. Salloway	G.A.C.
	J. P. Powers	
	A. V. Smith, Jr.	
	A. L. Hart	
	H. M. Hamilton	
	L. R. Higgins	
	C. H. McMilland	
	L. L. McLean	
	J. E. Schaefer, Jr.	
	Secretary File	
	Executive File	
	O. G. C. File	

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edges of

Re John!  
Will you please  
[ take care of W.F.D.'s  
report. Ans (23695) ]

SCIENCE

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X-75-221 - QEW

10 October 1944

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Lt. General Stanley D. Embick  
Office of the Combined Chiefs of Staff  
War Department  
Washington, D. C.

My dear General Bullock:

I enclose a summary of a letter concerning the new Bulgarian Cabinet, which I hope may be of interest to you.

The letter, which is dated 12 September 1944, was received by an OSS representative from Jacques Aszoeff, a former member of the Supreme Economic Council in Bulgaria and of the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce. The letter contains observations on members of the new Bulgarian Cabinet, several of whom are known personally to Mr. Aszoeff.

**Poorly yours,**

William J. Donovan

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Y. L. [unclear] or 10/13  
[unclear]SUMMARY OF LETTER WRITTEN BY YACOVIS ASSAEFF

"The character of the new Bulgarian Cabinet is leftist, but not Communist. The most influential member is the War Minister, Damyan Velchev, for many years Chief of the Military College at Sofia. The Minister President, Kimon Georgiev, and the Minister of Propaganda, Dime Kazassov, are friends of his, and the three represent the political group of Zveno in the Cabinet. All three are honest and incorruptible. They are strongly anti-German and in favor of a federation with Yugoslavia; they are anti-Communist, but in favor of an understanding with Russia."

Assaeff is well acquainted with these men and is therefore in a position to know what their ideas are. For the same reason he can speak with regard to two other Cabinet members, Dimitr Velkov and Grigor Chashmelev, who are representatives of the Independent Social Democrats. At one time they were members of the Second Socialist International and were opposed to militarism. They are now strongly democratic and in favor of a federation of the Balkan states."

The other members of the Cabinet who are pro-democratic and anti-Communist are Professor Petko Stainov and Professor Todor Stoyanov. The former was once a member of the Democratic

R.P. for R.D. &amp; C.R.D.

- 2 -

Union, but became associated with the Zvens group after the revolt of 1934. The latter once belonged to the Radical Democratic Party. Of the other Cabinet members, two are known as Communists with connections in Moscow: Minister of the Interior Anton Jugov, and Neichev.\*

"The Cabinet is supported by the Left Farmers Party, which is represented by Nicolai Petkov, Bubarov, and Derjanski. These men are said to be democrats and friendly to the United Nations.\*

"The Cabinet is democratic in nature and intends to liquidate quickly the Fascist and pro-German elements in the country, and then give the people a chance to form their own government. Assoff believes that the Minister President is sincere in this intention."

"In the approaching elections, there may well be a bitter fight between the democratic and the pro-Bolshevik elements, but Assoff believes that the former will prevail with a large majority. This will be certain if the Right Agrarian Party, whose leader is Gichev, is represented in the Cabinet. In any event, Assoff believes it is sure that the large majority of the people will favor a federation with Yugoslavia.

William J. Donovan  
Director

CONFIDENTIAL

15,3-3

RECORDED

10/10/44  
10/10/44

10 October 1944

Mr. James C. Dunn, Director  
Office of Foreign Affairs  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

10/10/44  
10/10/44

Dear Jimmy:

Will you please see that the  
attached letter is seen by the Secretary  
of State.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

William J. Donovan  
Director

CONFIDENTIAL

**SECRET**

10 October 1944

The Honorable Cordell Hull  
Secretary of State  
State Department  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary!

I enclose a summary of a letter concerning the new Bulgarian Cabinet, which I hope may be of interest to you.

The letter, which is dated 22 September 1944, was received by Mr. OSS representative from Jacques Asscoff, a former member of the Supreme Economic Council in Bulgaria and of the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce. The letter contains observations on members of the new Bulgarian Cabinet, several of whom are known personally to Mr. Asscoff.

Sincerely yours,

William J. Donovan  
Director

MHS.

**SECRET**

6.217  
10/10/68

Summary of Letter Written by Jacques Assoff  
Dated 25 September 1944

"The character of the new Bulgarian Cabinet is leftist, but not Communist. The most influential member is the War Minister, Damian Velchev, for many years Chief of the Military College at Sofia. The Minister President, Kimon Georgiev, and the Minister of Propaganda, Dimo Kazassov, are friends of his, and the three represent the political group of Zveno in the Cabinet. All three are honest and incorruptible. They are strongly anti-German and in favor of a federation with Yugoslavia; they are anti-Communist, but in favor of an understanding with Russia."

"Assoff is well acquainted with these men and is therefore in a position to know what their ideas are. For the same reason he can speak with regard to two other Cabinet members, Dimitr Balkov and Grigor Cheshmedgiev, who are representatives of the Independent Social Democrats. At one time they were members of the Second Socialist International and were opposed to Balkanization. They are now strongly democratic and in favor of a federation of the Balkan states."

"The other members of the Cabinet who are pro-democratic and anti-Communist are Professor Petko Stainov and Professor Petko Stojanov. The former was once a member of the Democratic

- 2 -

Union, but became associated with the Zveno group after the revolt of 1934. The latter once belonged to the Radical Democratic Party. Of the other Cabinet members, two are known as Communists with connections in Moscow: Minister of the Interior Anton Jugov, and Neichev."

"The Cabinet is supported by the Left Farmers Party, which is represented by Nicolai Petkov, Bumbarov, and Derjanski. These men are said to be democrats and friendly to the United Nations."

"The Cabinet is democratic in nature and intends to liquidate quickly the Fascist and pro-German elements in the country, and then give the people a chance to form their own government. Assoff believes that the Minister President is sincere in this intention."

"In the approaching elections, there may well be a bitter fight between the democratic and the pro-Bolshevik elements, but Assoff believes that the former will prevail with a large majority. This will be certain if the Right Agrarian Party, whose leader is Gichev, is represented in the Cabinet. In any event, Assoff believes it is sure that the large majority of the people will favor a federation with Yugoslavia."

William J. Donovan  
Director

SECRET

15,313

Baby you are  
X (Never) ACV  
X Camp, Mead **SLUICL**

2 October 1944

Miss Grace Tully  
White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Grace:

Will you kindly hand the attached memorandum  
to the President.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

William J. Donovan  
Director

**SLUICL**

15,313

~~Refugee~~  
~~SECRET~~  
 y A.S.C.C.  
 X Camp, Tivoli  
 2 October 1944

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## MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

You may be interested to see the following summary of a letter dated 22 September 1944, which was received by an OSS representative from Jacques Asseoff. The letter contains observations on members of the new Bulgarian Cabinet, several of whom are known personally to Mr. Asseoff who was formerly a member of the Supreme Economic Council in Bulgaria and of the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce:

"The character of the new Bulgarian Cabinet is leftist, but not Communist. The most influential member is the War Minister, Danica Velchev, for many years Chief of the Military College at Sofia. The Minister President, Kipon Georgiev, and the Minister of Propaganda, Dino Kazakov, are friends of his, and the three represent the political group of Ivano in the Cabinet. All three are honest and incorruptible. They are strongly anti-German and in favor of a federation with Yugoslavia; they are anti-Communist, but in favor of an understanding with Russia."

"Asseoff is well acquainted with these men and is therefore

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in a position to know what their ideas are. For the same reason he can speak with regard to two other Cabinet members, Dimitr Neikov and Grigor Cheshmedzhiev, who are representatives of the Independent Social Democrats. At one time they were members of the Second Socialist International and were opposed to Bolshevikism. They are now strongly democratic and in favor of a federation of the Balkan states."

The other members of the Cabinet who are pro-democratic and anti-Communist are Professor Petko Stainov and Professor Petko Stojanov. The former was once a member of the Democratic Union, but became associated with the Zveno group after the revolt of 1934. The latter once belonged to the Radical Democratic Party. Of the other Cabinet members, two are known as Communists with connections in Moscow: Minister of the Interior Anton Jagov, and Belchev.

The Cabinet is supported by the Left Farmers Party, which is represented by Nikolai Potkov, Banbarev, and Derjanaki. These men are said to be democratic and friendly to the United States."

The Cabinet is democratic in nature and intends to liquidate quickly the Fascist and pro-German elements in the country, and thus give the people a chance to form their

**SECRET**

-3-

**SECRET**

own government. Asseoff believes that the Minister President is sincere in this intention."

"In the approaching elections, there may well be a bitter fight between the democratic and the pro-Bolshevik elements, but Asseoff believes ~~that~~ the former will prevail with a large majority. This will be certain if the Right Agrarian Party, whose leader is Gichev, is represented in the Cabinet. In any event, Asseoff believes it is sure that the large majority of the people will favor a federation with Yugoslavia.

JUL/16

William J. Donovan  
Director**SECRET**

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15-313  
SECRET

*Nick P. John C. Hughes*

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
630 FIFTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK 20, N.Y.

23 September, 1944.

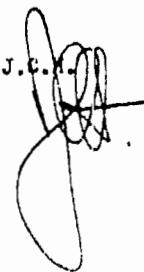
*Captain Carl and  
the rest*

To: Brigadier General William J. Donovan  
From: John C. Hughes

As of possible interest, I attach herewith copy of a letter received by Miss Carp from Jacques Asseoff. This letter was written to her following up a number of conversations which Miss Carp has had with Asseoff over the last number of weeks.

Asseoff arrived in the United States in 1940 and is favorably known to Cavendish Cannon, of the State Department, who has discussed various matters with him over the last several years. In Bulgaria, Asseoff was a member of the Supreme Economic Council, a member of the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce, vice president of the Association of Exporters and honorary president of the Association of Tobacco Merchants. He owns substantial property in Bulgaria and has had close and intimate contact with high Bulgarian officials and political personalities. He has written a number of articles on economic conditions in Bulgaria which are highly evaluated.

Incidentally, Miss Carp has developed a most satisfactory contact with Asseoff and has secured from him in the past excellent information on various Bulgarian matters as well as on subjects pertaining to Russia. He knows her as an old State Department official and not as a member of the OSS.

J.C.H.  


Bulgaria  
Bulgaria  
135-313  
SECRET  
COPY

JACQUES H. ASSEOFF

40 Central Park South  
New York City

September 22, 1944

Dear Miss Carp:

In connection with the last changes in the Bulgarian Cabinet, I would like to give you some information, which I believe will be of interest to you;

The new Bulgarian Cabinet formed by Minister President Kimon Georgiev, has undoubtedly a leftist character, but in my opinion cannot be considered communistic. The soul of the new Cabinet - as I had the opportunity to tell you - is Damian Velchev, new War Minister of the Cabinet, who was for many years Chief of the Military College of Sofia and is one of the frankest and most honest officers of the Bulgarian Army. The Minister President Kimon Georgiev, who was already Minister President in 1934 and Dimo Kazassov, Minister of Propaganda, are his best friends. These three are representing the political group of Zveno in the Cabinet. All are known to be very honest, honorable and incorruptible people. They always were fanatic anti-Germans and for a federation with Yugoslavia. Ideologically they are against a communistic doctrine but for an understanding with Russia, regardless of her political form of government.

In the Cabinet are 2 Representatives of the Independent Social Democrats: Dimitr Neikov and Grigor Chesiomedgiev. Both were members of the 2nd socialistic International and ideologically against Bolshevism. They are 100% Democratic and absolutely for a Federation of the Balkan Nations.

All the above mentioned five members of the Cabinet are good and intimate friends of mine, so that I am in the position to know their ideas.

The new Cabinet has the assistance of the Left Farmers Party, which is represented by Nicola Petkov, Tumbarov and Derjanski, known as democrats and as good friends of the United Nations.

It is worth mentioning two other members of the Cabinet: Prof. Petko Stainov, who for many years was a member of the Democratic Union, but after the revolt of 1934 became a close friend of the Zveno group and Prof. Petko Stojanov, known professor of political economy and member of the Radical Democratic Party, both of whom are absolutely pro-democratic and ideologically anti-Communistic.

CONFIDENTIAL

-2-

Of all the Ministers of the Cabinet two are known as Communists with connections in Moscow: Minister of the Interior Anton Yurov, and Neichev.

The opinion is, that this Cabinet is only temporary. It has the purpose of liquidating the Fascist and pro-German elements in the country quickly and radically, and to give the Bulgarian people the opportunity to form their own government. I know Kimon Georgiev and believe that he is honest and sincere in this connection.

It is very possible, that in the coming elections a bitter fight will take place between the democrats and the pro-Bolshevik elements. By free elections, and considering today's political and economical conditions, we believe that the democratic forces will win with a great majority. This victory will be 100% certain if the Right Agrarian Party whose leader is Gichev, will be represented in the Cabinet. One thing is certain anyhow, the great majority of the people will be for a Federation with Yugoslavia.

Very truly yours,

Jacques Asseoff

*Bulgaria 14, 301*

**SECRET**

*X Russia & Turkey  
1/1/44*

27 April 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE JOINT U. S. CHIEFS OF STAFF

SUBJECT: Cable Communications from Istanbul

Attached for your information are copies of four cables which we have recently received from one of our representatives in Istanbul, together with a copy of our reply to those cables.

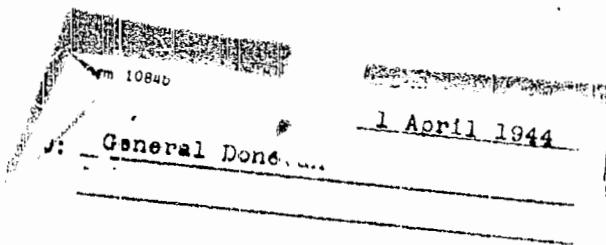
G. Edward Buxton  
Acting Director

Attachments

*Cables 183, 184 185 from Istanbul  
and 186 & 187 Istanbul*

**REFRET**

TOP ↑



Attached is the translation  
of the Bulgarian document  
requested.

SECRET

FROM: J.W. Lane

(3/19/46) Room 1111 Que Rldg. EXT. 2644

LFB

[Exposure is  $\frac{1}{25}$  @ f. 6.3]

19 202-

A-24352  
Report No. R-3724-bBulgaria  
Public Opinion

P-

1 April 1944

8  
Return to 16 March 1944

Madrid

PLB:EL/bb

Several changes have occurred during the course of the past month.

A. The effect of the bombings:

1. The two bombings of Sofia on 10 January created a state of terror. This feeling of terror is clearly greater than the feeling of "hate against the Allies" which official propaganda attempted to create after the bombing. The bombing of 10 January was less murderous as the city had been alerted and the population had taken shelter. The evening attack took the town by surprise. The people were in their homes as the air raid signaling-installations had been destroyed during the first attack. Among the people killed in their beds during the second attack, was Ivan Maisareff, noted democratic politician.
2. The two air attacks created a general panic. The population fled from Sofia and rushed toward the outlying villages. The water and gas supply as well as the transportation system, were not reestablished until several days later. The official figures show that 13 of the 100 attacking planes were shot down. There were 9,000 dead and 17,000 wounded. The destruction of Sofia is estimated at 30% of the total surface area of the city.

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3. The bombing continues to dominate everyone's thoughts and influences all political reactions:
  - a) They have heightened the people's desire to see Bulgaria out of the war.
  - b) In certain circles they have increased the estrangement from the royal family. In effect, it has been affirmed that the royal family was absent from Sofia on that particular day. It has taken up residence in a property outside of town and the legations have been transferred to Tschangeneia.  
Cham Koria.
  - c) In military circles there is a growing irritation against the Germans who have complied only sparingly with Bulgaria's requests for planes and heavy equipment.
  - d) Curiously enough, however, the air attacks have had practically no effect on popular pro-Russian sentiments, despite the declarations by Russian diplomats during the past years, that "as long as they were in Sofia", the town would not be bombed.
4. In this respect, the people had occasion to remember an incident which took place in the "Coop" restaurant at Sofia at the moment when an alert was sounded. Russian diplomats were present in the restaurant and declared loudly for every one to hear: "There is nothing to fear. It's a false alarm. As long as we are here, there will be no bombing of Sofia", and they ordered a general round of beer for all present.
5. However, this did not prevent the Soviet legation from building an air raid shelter. This, by the way, was a well-founded precaution, as a bomb dropped right over the legation on 10 January, and damaged it.
6. If the Russians did not, after all, temper pro-Russian feelings, it was because they were immediately influenced by pro-German propaganda. The communist press even went so far as to cite "the heroism of the Red Army, whose impressive victories on

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the field of battle have been won over enemy soldiers alone", while the Anglo-Saxons win their victories over the civilian population.

7. Furthermore, it was insinuated that the Allied bombings were carried out without Russian consent. The bombing of Helsinki is presented as a reprisal, and Finland's position in regard to the U.S. is described as similar to that of Bulgaria in regard to Russia, that is to say, "friendly, although friendly with the enemy".

B. The Russian Advance

1. The development of the war has strengthened the conviction that Germany has lost the war. Russian prestige has increased. On the other hand, the bombings have heightened the impression that the Bulgarians can "expect nothing from the Anglo-Saxons" and their sole hope is Russia. The general development of German propaganda which has replaced the slogan "communist danger" with "the danger of Russian Asiatic imperialism" has had an opposite effect to that desired by the Germans. There is general criticism of the disagreeable comments made by German propaganda on the subject of Russia as a nation and no longer simply as a regime.
2. The Pro-Russian feeling which is at variance with pro-Allied sentiments in certain democratic circles gained ground when the danger of an Allied invasion of the Balkan region appeared to have been removed. This feeling increased as a result of the situation in Italy and the removal to London of the presumably invasion leaders. It is generally believed at this moment that the Allies will attack the Germans nearer or to the center of the Reich and not in the Balkans.
3. The dominating thought in Bulgaria is that, in the absence of direct Allied operations in the Balkans, Bulgaria can avoid becoming a battlefield and will be able to count on Russian help when the Germans collapse.

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C. Pan-Slavic Propaganda.

1. This propaganda is becoming still greater. Even the communist party is using this pan-Slavic propaganda line.
2. The new theme of this propaganda stresses the transitory character of communism as a measure applied to strengthen production and the industrialization of the Russian military organizations which had been placed in jeopardy by Czarist decadence.
3. It points to the present war as proof of the success of the "communist phase". The desired result having been obtained, Russia is pictured as being free to bring this phase to a close and to return, reinforced, to her traditional role of arbiter of peace and protector of the Slavs.
4. This propaganda has convinced many bourgeois circles and notably many representatives of the liberal professions.
5. The Soviet Legation, however, has never expressed itself officially on this subject.

D. The decreasing prestige of the Crown

1. The greatest awe-inspiring respect which King Boris' strong personality aroused in the opposition, kept this opposition from attacking the royal family even during the time following the King's death. Now, however, the situation has changed and for the first time in many years there is ~~some~~ propaganda against the monarch. This propaganda originates with former democratic parties as well as leftist circles by laying stress on the German origin of the royal family. It thus encourages the growing anti-German sentiments of public opinion.
2. People say that Bulgaria backed the losing barge in the last war because of Ferdinand's affiliation with the Germans. It is rumored that when he entered into the war he signed a secret agreement promising him 20 million marks "in case of defeat".

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3. It is insinuated that old Ferdinand, who is still alive, is on the best of terms with Hitler and that Boris, although less partial, came under the same influence through the German side of the family and especially through the constant bad advice given him by his sister, the Princess Eudokia. As for Prince Kyail, it is reported that he lived for a long time in Czechoslovakia until, as a result of his excessive debauchery, he was asked to leave by the government of Prague.

E. Failure of the occupation

1. The slight success of Bulgarian occupation of the "new territories" is beginning to embolden people to refer openly to this addition to national territory as a "bad deal". People are not afraid to criticize Boris for having entered the war to satisfy his "thirst for glory and territory". Military circles continue to assert that the above territories must be defended "at all costs" and give no sign of wishing to withdraw the army to the pre-1940 territory, but this policy is not shared by the same patriotic concurrence as before. Public opinion says that it is clear that the Macedonians do not want to be Bulgarians, etc., and concludes: the present the Germans made us is an embarrassing gift.
2. Moreover, there is open discussion of the possibility of Bulgaria's discontinuing the war before the Germans do and of overrunning the slender German forces in Bulgaria. In case of German resistance, it is even suggested that an agreement be reached for this operation with the Yugoslav and Greek guerrilla forces.
3. All this does not mean that Bulgaria is already prepared to abandon the German cause by cutting off the retreat of the German divisions with the help of her former Serbian and Greek enemies. The government, as well as a good part of public opinion, still hopes that Bulgaria will be able to "get out from under" at the last moment without too many ill effects. While Russia is the people's hope, the hopes of the anti-communist circles are centered around a political understanding with

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Turkey. The fear of Turkey's entry into the war which would have opened the gates of the Balkans to the Allies, has again diminished as a result of the recent political friction between Turkey and the Allies. Turkey's non-participation in the war and the maintenance of a balance in Bulgarian relations with Germany, Russia and the Anglo-Saxons, had again become the patent care of government circles. The attempts at a rapprochement with Turkey are being promoted by Shishmanov, the Bulgarian Minister for Foreign Affairs, and are said to have been favorable received by Bentash, the Turkish Minister in Bulgaria.

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